



### **Official Letters of Patent**

Office of YH Queen Clement, People of Beginning of Time. Nephesh Hummus, Soul on Earth, Citizen of Loc Nation

**FEDERAL ACKNOWLEDGEMENT AND RESTITUTION**

**OF**

**Nephesh  
Hummus**

**THE CITIZENS OF LOC NATION**

**Also known as STATE OF LOC NATION**

**Submitted by:**

**HH Empress Queen Christina Clement, PHD Study of Nephesh Hummus, The Citizens  
of Loc Nation Loc Historian, Author and Loc Community Member**

**On behalf of**

**Governing Council of the Loc Nation of Georgia**

**10<sup>Th</sup> October, 2022  
Resubmitted: 25<sup>th</sup> September,  
2023**

Letters of Patent, YH Queen Clement  
Patent Holder, Loc Nation Trustee

The 94 Honorable Attorney General(s)  
Attorney General of the Department of Justice  
900 Pennsylvania Avenue NW  
Washington, DC 20530

Dear 94 Attorney General (s),

I hope this message finds you in the best of health and spirits. I, HH Empress Queen Christina Clement, by the Grace of God, Queen of the State of Loc Nation, descendant of the original people of this land, divinely appointed, write to you today with a matter of great significance that touches upon the preservation of our nation's cultural heritage and the promotion of justice and knowledge.

It is with profound honor and deep respect that I hereby submit the International memorial: "Revealed: The Kingdom of Locs - Nazirite Vow Continues, Volume 2." This extraordinary literary work, authored by HH Queen Empress Christina Clement, holds a unique place in our national tapestry. It carries with it the wisdom, traditions, and narratives that enrich the diverse mosaic of our beloved land, as well as addresses several treaty violations that require attention.

As the custodian of justice in our realm, your esteemed department plays a pivotal role in upholding the principles of fairness, equity, and inclusivity. It is my fervent belief that the contents of this book align with these noble ideals, shedding light on the Nazirite Vow and its continued significance in our society. This work transcends mere literature; it is a testament to the enduring values that bind our people together.

A. I beseech you, Attorney General, to recognize the importance of preserving and disseminating such cultural treasures. I humbly request that you consider providing your support for the inclusion of "Revealed: The Kingdom of Locs - Nazirite Vow Continues, Volume 2" in the esteemed archives of the Department of Justice, ensuring its accessibility to scholars, researchers, and the broader public.

B. I present to you, as the representative of the State of Loc Nation, PBC, "amicus curiae" and/or "intervenor," which has a statutory right to participate.

Letters of Patent, YH Queen Clement  
Patent Holder, Loc Nation Trustee

I present to you this brief of "facts," "memorial," and "Fulfillment" prepared in connection with the "Remedy of Restitution" for all states, federal, and international levels regarding their involvement in the "Black Holocaust and Loc discrimination," which includes violations of Maroon and Arawak Treaties. This case of great concern, gravity, and importance to the global public includes a direct, concise argument amplifying the reasons relied upon for the allowance of the "writ of certiorari." I foresee that the government "will act properly" when reviewing the argument, discovering the role of government during slavery, both past and present, turning a blind eye, and the allowance of loopholes such as "black codes," "vagrancy laws," and discrimination against Loc Nationites to date. You will also find the story of one of our Loc Nationites, a minor child named Le'den Boykin (Georgia), who was tragically murdered by officers, which also requires immediate remedy.

You will also find references to "Biblical Restitution guidelines" and contributions from the International Jurist Commission.

Exodus 22:1, 3-6, 14; Leviticus 6:2-5; Luke 19; Romans 10:10

I have submitted this brief to the following, among others:

- [hello@corybooker.com](mailto:hello@corybooker.com) September 23,2023;
- [ggoodwin@businessinsider.com](mailto:ggoodwin@businessinsider.com) September 20, 2023;
- [CEOMichaelThurmond@dekalbcountyga.gov](mailto:CEOMichaelThurmond@dekalbcountyga.gov) September 19,2023;
- [ted@dekalbcountyga.gov](mailto:ted@dekalbcountyga.gov) September 19, 2023;
- [Renee1.Starzyk@fultoncountyga.gov](mailto:Renee1.Starzyk@fultoncountyga.gov) September 18,2023
- [eFilingSupport@supremecourt.gov](mailto:eFilingSupport@supremecourt.gov) September 18,2023;
- Reparations Task Force- [info@reparationsgeneration.org](mailto:info@reparationsgeneration.org) September7, 8, 9, 2023;
- [info@narrativeinitiative.org](mailto:info@narrativeinitiative.org) September 9, 2023;
- [reparationtaskforce@doj.ca.gov](mailto:reparationtaskforce@doj.ca.gov) September 9, 2023;
- [justice@njisj.org](mailto:justice@njisj.org) September 9, 2023;
- [stoprepeatinghistory@gmail.com](mailto:stoprepeatinghistory@gmail.com) September 9, 2023;
- [president@whitehouse.gov](mailto:president@whitehouse.gov) August 14, 2023
- [first.lady@whitehouse.gov](mailto:first.lady@whitehouse.gov) August 14, 2023;
- [vice.president@whitehouse.gov](mailto:vice.president@whitehouse.gov) August 14, 2023;
- [comments@whitehouse.gov](mailto:comments@whitehouse.gov) August 14, 2023;

- [info@icj.org](mailto:info@icj.org) August 12, 2023, July 25, 2023;
- [media@nationalactionnetwork.net](mailto:media@nationalactionnetwork.net) August 12, 2023;
- [reception@peacepalace.org](mailto:reception@peacepalace.org) July 17, 2023; Library of Congress LCCN 2023930357;
- [dcas@state.gov](mailto:dcas@state.gov) February 22, 2023;
- [dextersharper@yahoo.com](mailto:dextersharper@yahoo.com) February 2, 2022;
- [archives2reference@nara.gov](mailto:archives2reference@nara.gov) February 1, 2023;
- [omari.crawford@housega.gov](mailto:omari.crawford@housega.gov) January 30, 2023;
- [npic@state.gov](mailto:npic@state.gov) January 15, 2023;
- [records@blm.gov](mailto:records@blm.gov) November 9, 2022 (Land Patent Heir)

State laws that have continuously recurred and have not been, but should be, settled by this court, should serve as a role model for all courts on state, federal, and international levels.

The attached PDF consists of 725 pages, including surveys, reference contributions, the Declaration of Independence, Treaties, and arguments. According to the Rules and Guidance provided by the Supreme Court ([supremecourt.gov](https://www.supremecourt.gov)), I was unable to locate the forms for the Rule 20 Extension to Word Count and Declaration of Compliance.

My intent is to file the attached PDF and obtain the Remedy of Restitution.

May this act serve as a testament to our commitment to justice, knowledge, and the celebration of our rich heritage. I stand ready to assist in any way possible to facilitate this noble endeavor.

In your wisdom and dedication to the principles of justice, I place my trust and hope for a favorable consideration of this request. I remain, as always, devoted to the welfare and prosperity of our great nation. Right is Right, and to love God with all our heart and love our neighbor the same. We are failing in this regard and must remedy.

Yours faithfully and with the deepest respect,

HH Empress Queen Christina Clement  
Queen of the State of Loc Nation  
All Divine Rights Reserved

Letters of Patent, YH Queen Clement  
Patent Holder, Loc Nation Trustee

Rule 9.1

HH Empress Queen Christina Clement, TE

State of Loc Nation, PBC

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Christina Clement LLC

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## 1.0.INTRODUCTION

This is document, which includes articles, letter(s) and a carefully studied historical narratives constitutes the Documented Petition for Federal Acknowledgement of Loc Nation Indians of Georgia, also known as Loc Community, which has been submitted for your review.

Our official headquarters are currently in Georgia, United States, with the following address:

2853 Candler Road,  
371252  
Decatur Georgia 30083  
United States of America  
(\*New address on file since  
original filing)

HH Empress Queen Christina Clement is the leader of the Loc Nation. She is one of many Loc Nationite - American citizens who identify themselves as descendants of the Maroon-Taino from Jamaica who settled in Georgia, North Carolina, Florida and Mississippi in USA in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Christina who dedicated significant portion of her life researching on what she believed was her ancestral roots, she would therefore use evidenced findings to educate and bring together people with similar connections and build a community that would seek legal recognition. She set up a resource center in Decatur, Georgia, where people can go and learn about the Maroon and the Taino-Arawak Indians and their Georgian links. Christina, who has for all her life lived in a Loc Culture, which she believed is very much connected to spiritual practices which were performed by the Maroon and the Taino, she has written a book, ***Locs Linked to Spirituality*** aiming to spread awareness of the origin of locs; to make awareness that locs are not just a hairstyle but a culture which has deep spiritual connections. Through this she hopes that people and authorities will understand and respect the loc culture and stop hair discrimination especially on locs. Loc Nation Resource Center in Decatur has reading informative materials not only from Christina's own work, but from collections of many studies that have been conducted over the years which confirm the argument we are presenting in this documented petition.

Christina has a long loc background through her family. Being a loc salon owner and also a locitian (loc making artist), she has met clients with different reasons as to why they are wearing locs. She has been told and experienced for herself the ill-treatment people wearing locs receive. Perceptions that connect locs to dirt and undesirable hairstyle, among others, triggered her into joining movements against hair discrimination, but believing that federal recognition of loc culture will contribute a great deal in ending loc and all forms of hair discrimination.

## 1.1 LOC NATION GOVERNING COUNCIL ‘S APPROVAL

We members of the governing council of the Loc Nation, do attest that, we had appointed a task force to conduct an extensive study on our tribal history, the study which led to the drafting of this petition for Federal Recognition of the Loc Nation, which we have reviewed and unanimously voted YES to approve it, and, we have directed this petition to be submitted to the Office of Federal Acknowledgement, by M/s Christina Clement, on behalf of our community.

[Full Name]

[Title] .....see “ Revealed the Kingdom of Locs Nazirite Vow Continues Volume 2”...ISBN 979-8218228460  
Locs linked to Spirituality ISBN 979-8402061118  
Revealed the Kingdom of Locs Nazirite Vow Continues  
Volume 1 Library of Congress Control Number  
2023930357 /ISBN BOBSKMBDL6/ ISBN 979-8-218-  
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## 2.0 PRAYER

The humble petition of the Loc Nation inhabitants of Georgia, the United States of America respectfully show;

**THAT WHEREAS** people wearing locs suffer discrimination; denied their rights only because of their traditional hairstyle, and being considered “not presentable” for the that matter,

**WHEREAS** locs are not just a hairstyle but a historically traceable cultural tradition; a tribal identity which those who consider themselves to be part of that, would want to keep and pass to their next generation

### AND WHEREAS

YOUR PETITIONERS humbly pray that your authority, according to the laws of the United States of America, to grant us legal recognition and acknowledgement of our Tribe, hereinafter referred to as, The Loc Nation.

## 3.0 HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Taino were the descendants of Arawak Indians and were the indigenous people of the Caribbean and Florida. It is believed that the ancestors of the Taino entered the Caribbean from the northern coastal region of South America and divided into several groups from which many Taino tribes were formed. Two of the split Taino groups settled in present day Puerto Rico and Florida of the United States of America, while other groups occupied and settled in Islands of Hispaniola, Jamaica, the Bahamas, and Eastern Cuba.

Early paintings of the Taino and Arawak show that they were darker with curly hair, while some studies conclude that the Taino had bronze skin tone and long straight black hair, high cheekbones and dark brown eyes. The Taino were skilled farmers, cultivating cassava, sweet potatoes and corn. They had developed sophisticated systems of navigation which allowed them to traverse the Caribbean with ease, and built impressive wooden canoes which could fit up to 100 passengers. They were as well artistic as they composed music and created powerful spiritually expressive objects such as *zemis*, made of wood, clay or stone.

By the time of Christopher Columbus arrival in America in 1492, Taino were already the principal inhabitants of the Caribbean, and had their civilization with their own religious, political and social systems. Spiritually, the Taino worshiped two main gods; *Yucahu*, the lord of cassava and the sea and *Attabeira* his mother, the goddess of fresh water and human fertility. There were also other lesser gods who were worshiped in form of *zemis*, which was a representation of gods and ancestors. Socially, Taino society was divided into two classes, *the naborias* and *the naitainos*. *The naborias* were the laboring class in charge of fishing, hunting, and working in the fields; while *the naitainos*, the nobles, supervised their labor. Politically, *the naitainos* ruled over smaller communities, and reported to *the cacique* who oversaw the larger chiefdoms.

Christopher Columbus left Europe to America carrying a letter from the King Ferdinand of Spain. The letter was communicated to the Taino/Sarawak, wanting them to acknowledge Christianity and accept the authority of the King of Spain, with promises of benefits but also threats if they refuse to comply to the King's demands.

### 3.1. KING FERDINAND'S LETTER TO THE TAINO-ARAWAK INDIANS

*"In the name of King Ferdinand and Juana, his daughter, Queen of Castile and Leon, etc., conquerors of barbarian nations, we notify you as best we can that our Lord God Eternal created Heaven and earth and a man and woman from whom we all descend for all times and all over the world. In the 5,000 years since creation the multitude of these generations caused men to divide and establish kingdoms in various parts of the world, among whom God chose St. Peter as leader of mankind, regardless of their law, sect or belief. He seated St. Peter in Rome as the best place from which to rule the world but he allowed him to establish his seat in all parts of the world and rule all people, whether Christians, Moors, Jews, Gentiles or any other sect. He was named Pope, which means admirable and greatest father, governor of all men. Those who lived at that time obeyed St. Peter as Lord and superior King of the universe, and so did their descendants obey his successors and so on to the end of time.*

*The late Pope gave these islands and mainland of the ocean and the contents hereof to the above-mentioned King and Queen, as is certified in writing and you may see the documents if you should so desire. Therefore, Their Highnesses are lords and masters of this land; they were acknowledged as such when this notice was posted, and were and are being served willingly and without resistance; then, their religious envoys were acknowledged and obeyed without delay, and all subjects unconditionally and of their own free will became Christians and thus they remain. Their Highnesses received their allegiance with joy and benignity and decreed that they be treated in this spirit like good and loyal vassals and you are under the obligation to do the same.*

*Therefore, we request that you understand this text, deliberate on its contents within a reasonable time, and recognize the Church and its highest priest, the Pope, as rulers of the universe, and in their name the King and Queen of Spain as rulers of this land, allowing the religious fathers to preach our holy Faith to you. You own compliance as a duty to the King and we in his name will receive you with love and charity, respecting your freedom and that of your wives and sons and your rights of possession and we shall not compel you to baptism unless you, informed of the Truth, wish to convert to our holy Catholic Faith as almost all your neighbours have done in other islands, in exchange for which Their Highnesses bestow many privileges and exemptions upon you. Should you fail to comply, or delay maliciously in so doing, we assure you that with the help of God we shall use force against you, declaring war upon you from all sides and with all possible means, and we shall bind you to the yoke of the Church and of Their Highnesses; we shall enslave your persons, wives and sons, sell you or dispose of you as the King sees fit; we shall seize your possessions and harm you as much as we can as disobedient and resisting vassals. And we declare you guilty of resulting deaths and injuries, exempting Their Highnesses of such guilt as well as ourselves and the gentlemen who accompany us. We hereby request that legal signatures be affixed to this text and pray those present to bear witness for us."*

Although Columbus arrived in the new world (America), specifically the Caribbean in 1492, the conquest did not start until 1494, taking the Islands of Hispaniola under Spanish rule. In Puerto Rico Spanish colonization started in 1508, and Cuba in 1510. It is reported that by 1509, only 15 years after the establishment of the Spanish colonial rule in Hispaniola, the Taino population dropped by hundreds of thousands, to only 60,000. Causes for this dramatic drop include forced overwork, diseases such as smallpox and measles which are said to have been brought by the Spaniards and the indigenous Taino population was not immune against. Another key factor is massacre executed by Spaniard. A number of Taino survivors is said to be between 500 – 2000 people, of a community which had a population of millions.

#### **4.0 HERITAGE**

Jalil Sued Badillo, an ethnohistorian at the university of Puerto Rico, asserts that, although the Spanish histories speak of the disappearance of the Taino as an ethnic identification, many of the Taino survivors left descendants who intermarried with other ethnic groups including slaves from Africa who were brought in the America to work for the Europeans after the mass killings of the Taino left the colonists in need of labor force. Evidence suggests that some Taino women and African men intermarried and lived in relatively isolated Maroon communities in the interior of the islands where they developed into a mixed-race population, independent of Spanish authorities

There had been efforts since 1840s to recreate Taino identity in Cuba, Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico, with much more efforts by Puerto Rican community of the United States of America in 1960s. Groups of people currently identifying as Taino, are most notably Puerto Ricans and Dominican Republic both on islands and in the United States mainland. The concept of ‘living Taino’ has been proven in the recent census. In more recent years there has been a high percentage of people with Spanish and African Ancestry, claiming Taino Ancestry. Research findings published in the Proceedings of the National Academy of sciences, researchers say the DNA of the pre-Columbus indigenous populations is found in living people. Therefore, this confirms that Taino culture is very much still present.

#### **5.0 TAINO IN GEORGIA**

New knowledge about North America’s connection to the history of Taino people has been emerging in the recent years. Much evidence of existence of Taino especially in today’s Georgia is found to have been available for a long time. These include 16th century archives left by French and Spanish explorers, plus a stone tablet discovered over a century ago near Atlanta, GA. The Taino ethnic and place names were in these old texts. Some of them are still in use today. Until recently, though, no one ever stopped to investigate the origins of such words that were within what was thought to be the original territory of the Creek Indians, but not Creek Indian words.

The first breakthrough occurred in 2011. Dr. Stephen C. Jett, a geology professor at the University of California-Davis was intrigued because several of the petroglyphs from northern Georgia did

not resemble those he was familiar with in the Southwestern United States. Most were on larger boulders and were very similar to Bronze Age petroglyphs on the Atlantic coasts of Ireland and Spain. One was entirely different. It was inscribed on a four feet (1.33 m) tall stone tablet, called a stela by archaeologists. It had been found over a century ago near the Chattahoochee River in an area that is now part of Metropolitan Atlanta. Jett thought it looked “very Caribbean.”

The Sweetwater Creek stela, as it is now known, was discovered by a hunter, face down on the crest of a hilltop shrine. Earthen and stone steps led up the steep hill from the creek’s confluence with the Chattahoochee River. The hillside was littered with Native American artifacts. For many years the stela was on display at the offices of the Georgia Division of Archives and History. It is now displayed at a museum in Sweetwater State Park.

Dr. Jett provided names of several fellow members of the American Petroglyphic Society, who were experts on Taino and Carib art. They were sent photos of the Sweetwater Creek stela. The response was instantaneous. The stela portrayed a Taino guardian deity. In fact, the semi-human figure was virtually identical to art found in caves near Arecibo, Puerto Rico. That region was the Toa Province, prior to conquest of Puerto Rico by the Spanish. It was a 100% match.

During the early spring of 1540 the Hernando de Soto Expedition was traveling northward through present day southern Georgia. Approximately 80 miles (130 km) south of Macon, GA the expedition entered a Native town on the Ocmulgee River called *Toa*. It was in a province called *Toasi*, which in the Itsate Creek language means “offspring of Toa.” De Soto’s chroniclers remarked that the town of Toa was cleaner, better planned and more sophisticated than the native villages they had visited in Florida. Toa is also the Taino name for a special stone griddle used to bake cassava bread.

The fact that a Native town in Georgia and a province in Puerto Rico had the same name might be thought to be a coincidence, but the Toasi moved westward into central Alabama in the 1700s as European colonists occupied the Atlantic Coastal Plain. When white settlers reached Alabama, they were called the Tawasee. It is still a place name near Loundesboro, Alabama. One of the Tawasee men happened to be traveling in the Carolinas, looking for work. Some local scholars took an interest in the native language he spoke. Toasi (or Tawasee) turned out to be a mixture of Taino Arawak and Creek Indian words.

Some of the Toa’s also settled in the mountains of Georgia, probably to have access to the region’s natural resources. In the mountains, the Toa maintained their Arawak identity more completely. They called themselves the Toa-coa (Toa People.) Their name survives today as two rivers named Toccoa in the mountainous part of the state. They also had a village on the Little Tennessee River. That village eventually joined the Cherokee Indians. It was known to the Cherokees as Tocqua.

There was another hybrid group that lived in central Georgia near the Toa and also in the southern tip of Florida. According to 16th century French explorers, they called themselves the Mayacoa. That means Maya People in Arawak. Apparently, they were a mixture of Maya Indian and Arawak ancestors. Other Arawak tribes in Georgia mentioned by the French included the

Potano, Ustacoa, Panicoa, Anatecoa, Maticoa, Omiticoa and Enlicoa. These tribes were Arawaks, but allied with Itsate-Creek Indians, who spoke another language with many Maya words.

Arawaks, originally from the Caribbean Basin, may have lived as far north as the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia. When European settlers arrived in the Shenandoah Valley it was uninhabited. Either a plague or Rickohocken Indian slave raiders had erased an advanced indigenous culture. This extinct nation left behind many mounds and the ruins of numerous villages. While tilling the fields around these abandoned villages, the newly arrived German and Dutch settlers found numerous stone griddles with legs that were unlike anything utilized by Algonquin Indians in Virginia. The descriptions of these griddles sound identical to the *toas* used by Arawak Indians to bake cassava bread.

Gary Daniels is the founder of [www.LostWorlds.org](http://www.LostWorlds.org). He was featured on the premier of the History Channel's *American Unearthed* on December 21, 2012. Gary lives on the coast of Georgia and has been researching the Arawaks of the Southeastern United States for several years. He has identified a pre-European trade network, operated by the Arawaks that transported products from the coast like salt to the highlands, then returned to the coast with products from the mountains.

Gary often pondered what caused a sudden ethnic change around 1000 AD, when many new towns appeared within the interior of the Southeast, while parts of the Atlantic Coast seemed to have been temporarily abandoned by Muskogean mound builders. The coast was reoccupied by Arawak and Tupi-Guarani peoples some time later. They paddled as far as 2,000 miles (3200 km) to settle in Georgia.

#### **[ARTICLE REFERENCE]**

#### **GEORGIA CONNECTIONS: POSSIBLE CARIBBEAN INDIGENOUS PRESENCE AND INFLUENCE ON THE NATIVE AMERICAN CONFEDERACIES OF THE SOUTHEASTERN UNITED STATES**

Melinda Maxwell-Gibb, PhD

Letters of Patent, YH Queen Clement  
Patent Holder, Loc Nation Trustee

## Inter American University, Metropolitan Campus, San Juan, Puerto Rico

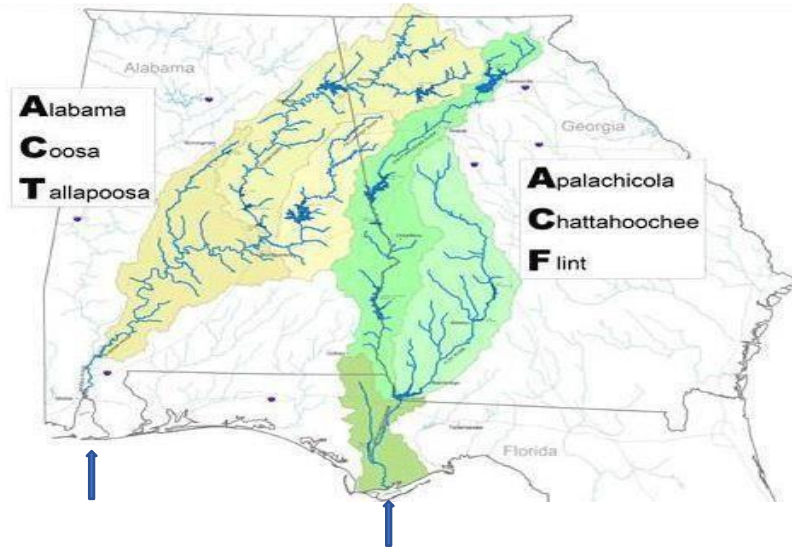
An article appearing in the September 4, 1909 edition of the Douglas County Sentinel, entitled “Remarkable stone image found near Douglasville”, tells the story of what happened one day when William Harvey Roberts went hunting for wild turkeys along Sweetwater Creek in Douglas County, Ga. What Roberts discovered while hunting in an area called Jack’s Hill would become known as the Roberts and/or Sweetwater Creek petroglyph. The newspaper describes how the stone was found in an area where “[a] large number of Indian relics have been found”, and located “near the top of a cliff, which has stone steps dug out on the side, and is almost a hundred feet high and perpendicular to the little creek below” (cited in Smith: 45-46). In her article titled “Mystery of the Roberts petroglyph”, Virginia Davis states:

During his hunt, Mr. Roberts became tired and decided to pause to rest on a large boulder. As he did so, he discovered something that has become an enduring mystery... Mr. Roberts noticed the large rock on which he was sitting had engraved drawings which resembled the human form...[and] decided to retrieve it as a curiosity item for his home” (Davis: 48).

This engraved stone was kept in the Roberts home until his death. In 1930, the Roberts family loaned the stela to the State Archives of the Department of Natural Resources (Smith: 46). The petroglyph was housed for many years in Rhodes Mansion, the original office of the Georgia Department of Archives and History, located on Peachtree Street in Atlanta. In 1962, the Archives loaned the petroglyph to the Columbus Museum where it was displayed and then stored until 2005. In 2005, it was taken to the newly created Sweetwater Creek State Conservation Park Interpretative Center, in Lithia Springs, Ga, where the stela currently resides (Smith: 47-48; Davis: 49).

Interestingly enough, the Sweetwater petroglyph is not the only glyph to be found in this area. Georgia holds many examples of early petroglyphs, such as those located in Fulton and Forsyth counties. Were these stones carved by local tribes, or were they carved by travelers passing through the region? Are the symbols traceable to other cultures? Can we determine contact through the possible cultural legacies visitors may have left behind? These questions serve as an exploration into the possibilities of a Caribbean indigenous influence on the cultures of the Native American confederations found within the south-eastern United States.

The state of Georgia is considered to have one of the richest petroglyph traditions in the South Eastern United States, its geographical location making it the ideal meeting ground for indigenous encounters. Looking at the following tri-state map, we can observe two major riverine entries into the region from the southeastern Gulf corridor into the rich water basin areas of Alabama, Georgia and Florida – areas that contain huge artifact fields.



Virginia Davis describes the petroglyph as follows, “The Roberts petroglyph is 200 to 250 pounds in weight. It is 46 inches in height, 22 inches wide and 10 inches deep at its greatest dimension. The stone is schist, not granite as is sometimes assumed” (Davis: 48).

Margaret Perryman, in her article “Sculptured monoliths of Georgia”, states that: The petroglyph is quite different from any of the other known Georgia petroglyphs. The peculiar shape of the stone and the distinctive type of its markings make it one of the most interesting and rare examples of stone carvings in Georgia. The apparently purposely cut deep notch in the bottom of the stone is most puzzling and poses the problem of whether the stone might have been made to be placed upon a cross beam or a ridge pole (Perryman: 7).

The artwork etched onto the stone is very different from the highly realistic stone sculptures found in the region that are known to have been created by the ancestors of

Georgia’s Creek and Cherokee tribes.

According to Richard Thornton, a Creek architect and writer, the petroglyph was thrust into the national limelight in 2011, when filmmaker and amateur

archaeologist Jon Haskell became intrigued by the strange appearance of the petroglyph. Having filmed documentaries in many parts of the Americas, he had never seen any petroglyph like the Sweetwater Creek petroglyph in the United States:

During the first week of April 2011, Haskell sent emails throughout North America to friends, who were either archaeologists, petroglyph specialists or experts on Native American art. Stephen C. Jett is a geography professor at the University of California at Davis and a recognized scholar of the petroglyphs and pictographs of the American southwest. His brief comment emailed back to Jon Haskell was the first interpretation in a century that assigned a regional identity to the Sweetwater petroglyph. He wrote, “It looks vaguely Caribbean to me, but that’s just an impression, I am not conversant with the rock art of that region. (Thornton, 2011).

Looking at the figure, it is possible that it is a “guardian spirit” whose presence would have warned travelers that they were entering a province or sacred area. In August of 2018, I had a discussion with Taino scholar Roberto Perez Reyes, author of *El secreto mejor perdido*, who talked about the possible significance of the figure portrayed on the petroglyph – he identified it as Caniba<sup>1</sup> (in Kalinago *karibna* “the people”) – a powerful symbol that tells others that the place it appears in is inhabited by a strong people. The figure possesses a dominant stance, indicating power, and outstretched hand with many digits, which indicates a large population. Richard Thornton was the first to write about the petroglyph’s possible Caribbean roots. Reading his research, it states that his archaeological contacts in Puerto Rico identified the entity as Mabouya. For me, this is strange, as the Maybouya isn’t Taino, but Kalinago. It’s significance for the Kalinago is that of a malevolent spirit who possesses its unsuspecting victims and causes illness. After further thought, I feel the figure could possibly be an interpretation of Boinayel, the Taino god of agriculture who controlled the harvest. He was known the god of rain and the belief was that when Boinayel cried, the tears would turn into rain. His tears were a sign of the water that would then cultivate the crops.

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<sup>1</sup> This is evidence that I presented some years ago in the following article: Maxwell, Melinda (2012). Wendigo, Canaima, Caníbal: a journey into the world of Amerindian shape-shifting. In Nicholas Faraclas et al. (Eds.), *Double voicing and multiplex identities: unpacking hegemonic and subaltern discourses in the Caribbean* (pp. 445-449). Curaçao/Puerto Rico: FPI; UNA/RPR.



In the 1930's, archaeologists, including the late Richard Wauchope and Arthur Randolph Kelly, working in advance of the establishment of an industrial park on the

Chattahoochee River near the outlet of Sweetwater Creek's, discovered several varieties of tubers growing wild near the original stela site that had been previously unattested in the local archaeological record. They looked like "bushy" morning glories, but had large, edible tubers growing underground (Thornton, 2011). According to their description,

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these mounded areas, or *conucos*, likely contained *batata* (sweet potato) or *ñame* (wild yam). Intensive land development since then has eliminated the wild root crop patches, but some sketches still exist.

According to Thornton, some linguistic evidence also exists as to the possible settlement of indigenous peoples from the Caribbean. Much of his etymology focuses on Creek/Mayan prefixes and Arawak suffixes (2011; 2016). Some of the town names that he mentions most definitely contain Taino etymons, for example Toa, which means 'great river', is one of the towns that Hernando de Soto encounters in what is today Georgia on the first European expedition into the interior of the Southeast of North America in the 1500s (see MinerSola). Thornton observes that the Toasi (meaning "Offspring of Toa" in Creek) ethnic group was different from the others in the Florida peninsula and later moved to the area around Birmingham, Alabama, where English-speaking settlers called them the Towasee. He also notes that by that time they had become members of the Creek Confederacy. Some of their language survives in a glossary and has been found to contain both Arawak and Mvskoke words (Thornton, 2016). From 1564-1565, Rene Goulaine de Laudonniere recorded numerous provincial and town names on the Georgia coast and along the Althamaha River that ended with the Taino suffix *-coa*, Thornton refers to *-coa* as Arawak (in Taino *coa* serves as a prefix or suffix meaning "place" – see Miner Sola). There are several surviving place names in the mountains of western North Carolina, Georgia and eastern Tennessee that also have the *coa* suffix, these include Toccoa, Stecoah, Talikoa, and Seticoa. Etymology aside, there is very significant evidence that indigenous peoples originally from the Caribbean (the Bahamas, Puerto Rico, Cuba or Hispaniola) paddled to the Florida Peninsula, followed the gulf coast up to the mouth of the Apalachicola-Chattahoochee River, and ultimately settled in the vicinity of what is now Atlanta, Georgia. Shortly after many of the indigenous peoples of the Southeast were forcibly relocated from northwestern Georgia to Oklahoma on the Trail of Tears in

1838, early settlers found an 8 1/2 foot long - 2 1/2 foot wide boulder in Forsyth county, located alongside a wagon road between the towns of Cumming and Dahlonega. On the three-sided rock were carved seventeen glyphs that didn't correspond to any of the Creek or Cherokee nations' glyphs. Circles dominate, but there are also some abstract glyphs that were not recognizable to any scholars of the day. These same marks are found on petroglyphs throughout the Caribbean. Charles Jones, one of the pioneers of American archaeology, viewed the boulder around 1870. He included a description of the boulder in his landmark book *Antiquities of the southern Indians, particularly of the Georgia tribes*, published in 1873. At the time it was discovered, the figures on the boulder were incised 1/2 to 3/4 inches deep. On one end of the boulder, running vertically was a line of 18 drilled dots, interconnected by an incised line. The largest set of concentric circles measured 8 inches in diameter. Through the decades, the boulder was vandalized by sightseers and eroded by the elements. In order to protect it from further damage, it was relocated in 1963 to the new Georgia State Art Museum on the campus of the University of Georgia in Athens, where it still resides. Track Rock Mountain is immediately adjacent to Georgia's tallest mountain, Brasstown Bald. The location of the small terrace there containing the six boulders is about 30 feet above a paved road that was once an American Indian trail that went over a gap between two mountains. However, this trail was not one of the wide, road-like routes that once interconnected the commercial circuits of pre-Colombian North America. It led to a quarry of soapstone, which was mined to create cooking bowls and metates (mortar/pestles) for grinding (the Cherokee used soapstone for pipes and ingested it for medicinal purposes, as it is high in magnesium). Some of the glyphs carved at Track Rock Mountain also exhibit circles and swirl designs found throughout the Caribbean.

The Cline Family/Reinhardt Petroglyph is a 5-ton boulder that was donated to Reinhardt University in Waleska, Georgia by members of the Cline family in the 1940s. This ancient and mysterious carved rock was found years ago on the Cline farm in the Hickory Log area of Cherokee county near the Etowah River and was brought to the campus on a large wrecker and placed between two big oak trees next to Dobbs Hall. It was later moved into the Reinhardt library and then to the Funk Heritage Center, which is

Georgia's Official Frontier and Southeastern Indian Interpretive Center, also located in Waleska, where it is now the centerpiece of the Hall of Ancients.

Like the above mentioned stone artifacts, this boulder contains carvings that are commonly found in the Caribbean, specifically spirals.

One interesting point is that none of the petroglyph boulders in northern Georgia are directly associated with Native American town sites. Their locations are typically on top of natural features which are visible from a distance. What the boulders do share is an association with ancient trading paths, and they would have been landmarks for travelers in ancient times. That does not necessarily mean that these rocks were originally carved by the indigenous inhabitants of the lands near them, though. They could have been carved by travelers passing through the region, who wished to leave a record of their presence.

In this section, I would like to transition from petroglyphs to some of the possible influences brought into the Southeast by the indigenous peoples of the Caribbean. I will begin with head flattening /cranial deformation. In her book *Slavery in Indian country: the changing face of captivity in early America*, Christina A. Snyder writes, “When infants from these groups lay on their cradle boards, families placed wooden boards covered with deerskin on the foreheads, making the cranial vault rounded and long” (p. 17). Head flattening in the Southeast was practiced by a number of tribes. The Choctaw and Chitimacha, who only flattened the heads of male babies, and the Caddo, who only flattened the heads of those of hereditary political and religious leaders, whose status was determined according to their matrilineal descent system. These leaders directed political and religious ceremonies, as did a similar group of leaders in Taino culture. Cranial deformation in the Southeast was usually an indication of high social rank. In Caribbean indigenous cultures, head flattening was practiced among the Taino in the Bahamas, Cuba, Jamaica, Haiti, the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico, and among the Kalinago from the Virgin Islands on down the chain of islands that includes Dominica, Martinique, Guadeloupe, Grenada, St. Vincent and the Grenadines. Tattooing among the tribes of the Caribbean was documented in early letters and reports dating from the late 1400s by both Diego Alvarez Chanca, who sailed with Columbus, and Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo. Tattooing was also common among the tribes of the Southeast, including the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Seminole, Natchez, and Caddo. The Chitimacha of Louisiana, who tattooed their faces, bodies, arms and legs, had a leadership system similar to both the Maya and the Taino, consisting of a class of hereditary leaders and a class of commoners, referred to in Taino language as

*nitaino* and *naboria*, respectively. Members of these the two classes spoke different language varieties and intermarriage between them was forbidden. Blowguns are another possible cultural link between the Southeast and the indigenous Caribbean. The use of blowguns by North American tribes has only been documented in the southeastern United States. Tribes that utilized the blowgun include the Houma, Koasati, Cherokee, Chitimacha, Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Seminole. These tribes made cane stems into arrow shafts, blowguns and darts for hunting squirrels, rabbits and various birds (Bushnell, 1909; Hamel & Chiltoskey, 1975; Speck, 1941; Kniffen et.al., 1987). Young Cherokee boys used giant cane blowguns armed with darts to protect ripening cornfields from scavenging birds and small mammals (Fogelson, 2004). Today, the Eastern Band of Cherokee are the only remaining tribe that actively uses blowguns for the hunting of small game. These blowguns are made from river cane, much like those utilized in the Caribbean by the Kalinago (Rosseau Reed – River Cane). Unlike the tribes of South Florida, and those of the Greater and Lesser Antilles, who used manchineel sap to poison their dart tips, the Cherokee never used poison because they felt it would contaminate the meat (cherokeeheritage.org, 2016).

The evidence presented in this article indicates that there was significant pre-Columbian cultural contact and exchange between the Caribbean and the indigenous Southeast of North America. These connections are confirmed by the existence of shared mythological traditions and southeastern agriculture involving Caribbean cultivars, such as tobacco, corn, peanuts, cotton and tropical squash. DNA testing among the southeastern nations has shown the presence of haplogroups only found in the Caribbean and Central and South America. This gives the concept ‘circum-Caribbean’ new meaning, suggesting that our understanding of the circum-Caribbean needs to be expanded from the colonial context in which we normally use the term to the much longer and culturally more complex era of pre-colonial contact.

## **6.0 TAINO HAIR CULTURE**

Different studies show that the Taino had long black hair and their frequently worn hairstyle featured bangs in front and longer hair at the back with two braided pony tails. This is not different from other early tribes of America. There is a common culture of growing long braided hair among indigenous tribes of America. Both men and women are encouraged to grow their hair. Normally there are special ceremonies for the first haircut, but thereafter the hair is let to grow long. There are beliefs around long hair as many of the beliefs are tied to the earth and nature. It is believed

that long hair in the Native American culture is a physical manifestation of the growth of the spirit. Their hair, long in different styles, had their spiritual meaning, and they took great pride in their hair.

## **7.0 THE MAROONS**

In 1654, the British challenged the Spanish rule over the Caribbean. They suffered defeats twice in Hispaniola, and successfully tried again and succeeded to establish their rule over Jamaica. On their way out of the islands after a defeat, the Spaniards freed their African slaves. These freed African slaves and those who escaped would later be known as the Maroons. The origin of the word maroon was derived from a Spanish word cimarron, which meant, widely and unruly. This group of escaping African slaves, started escaping in 1530s where they fled to the hills and mountains of Jamaica where they joined the native Jamaican Tainos. After a long fight with the British, in 1700s the maroons and the Jamaican Tainos signed a peace treaty with the British. It is believed that the Maroons and Jamaican Tainos intermarried and their descendants spread in other parts of the Caribbean, some finding their way into today's South Carolina and Georgia in the United States of America.

Among the slaves who did not allow themselves to be re-enslaved by the British and therefore escaped into the hilly mountainous regions of the island to live amongst the Tainos, was Nanny of the Maroons. According to Wikipedia Nanny was born in 1686 in Ghana, western Africa and was brought to Jamaica as a slave (she told me she came as an indentured servant). She and her brothers Accompong, Cudjoe, Johnny and Quao ran away from their plantation. They said Nanny was married but she had no children. Both her and her brothers held several slave rebellions in Jamaica and it was said that she was such a fierce warrior that the British had to beg for peace. They also said Nanny was a great Obeah woman who knew many charms and spells and she used this to assist her to defeat the British. In 1739 the British governor in Jamaica signed a treaty with the maroons promising them 2500 acres in two different locations. They were to remain in their 5 main towns; Accompong, Trelawny, Mountain Top, Scots Hall, Nanny Town. The government of Jamaica declared Nanny a national heroine in 1976.

The maroons were ferocious hunters. It is believed that up to this age, Maroons who have never met can identify each other, and this is because of spiritual connection among themselves. Besides their spirituality, the Maroons are very traditional and they work closely with nature. The maroons have their own unique code that they use to communicate with each other, this was done using an instrument known as the Abeng (an African word meaning 'conch shell') The ones used by the maroons however, looks more like a cow's horn and is still used today in the maroon communities of Jamaica. This instrument greatly assisted them during the rebellion and prevented their recapture by the slave masters.

## 7.1. THE MAROON PEACE TREATY

Articles of Pacification with the Maroons of Trelawney Town, Concluded March the first, 1738

In the name of God, Amen, Whereas Captain Cudjoe, Captain, Acompong, Captain Johnny, Captain Cuffee, Captain Quaco, and several other Negroes, their dependents and adherents, have been in a state of ware and hostility, for several years past, against our sovereign lord the King, and the inhabitants of this island; and whereas peace and friendship among mankind, and the preventing of effusion of blood, is agreeable to God, consonant to reason, and desired by every good man; and whereas his Majesty George the Second, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and of Jamaica Lord, Defender of the Faith, &c. has by his letters patent, dated February the twenty-fourth, one thousand seven hundred and thirty-eight, in the twelfth year of his reign, granted full power and authority to John Guthrie and Francis Sadler, Esquires, to negotiate and finally conclude a treaty of peace and friendship with the aforesaid Captain Cudjoe, and the rest of his captains, adherents, and others his men; they mutually, sincerely, and amicably, have agreed to the following articles:

First, That all hostilities shall cease on both sides for ever.

Secondly, That the said Captain Cudjoe, the rest of his captains, adherents, and men shall for ever hereafter in a perfect state of freedom and liberty, excepting those who have been taken by them, or fled to them, within two years last past, if such are willing to return to their said masters and owners, with full pardon and indemnity from their said masters or owners for what is past; provided always that, if they are not willing to return, they shall remain in subjection to Captain Cudjoe and in friendship with us, according to the form an tenor of this treaty.

Thirdly, That they shall enjoy and posses, for themselves and posterity for ever, all the lands situate and lying between Trelawney Town and the Cockpits, to the amount of fifteen hundred acres, bearing northwest from the said Trelawney Town.

Fourthly, That they shall have liberty to plant the said lands with coffee, cocoa, ginger, tobacco, and cotton, and to breed cattle, hogs, goats, or any other flock, and dispose of the produce or increase of the said commodities to the inhabitants of this island; provided always, that when they bring the said commodities to market, they shall apply fist to the customs, or any other magistrate of the respective parishes where they expose their goods to sale, for a license to vend the same.

Fifthly, That Captain Cudjoe, and all the Captain's adherents, and people now in subjection to him, shall all live together within the bounds of Trelawney Town, and that they have liberty to hunt where they shall think fit, except within three miles of any settlement, crawl, or pen; provided always, that in case the hunters of Captain Cudjoe and those of other settlements meet, then the hogs to be equally divided between both parties.

Sixthly, That the said Captain Cudjoe, and his successors, do use their best endeavors to take, kill, suppress, or destroy, either by themselves, or jointly with any other number of men, commanded on that service by his excellency the Governor, or Commander in Chief for the time being, all rebels wheresoever they be, throughout this island, unless they submit to the same terms of accommodation granted to Captain Cudjoe, and his successors.

Seventhly, That in case this island be invaded by any foreign enemy, the said Captain Cudjoe, and his successors hereinafter named or to be appointed, shall then, upon notice given, immediately repair to any place the Governor for the time being shall appoint, in order to repel the said invaders with his or their utmost force, and to submit to the orders of the Commander in Chief on that occasion.

Eighthly, That if any white man shall do any manner of injury to Captain Cudjoe, his successor, or any of his or their people, they shall apply to any commanding officer or magistrate in the neighbourhood for justice; and in case Captain Cudjoe, or any of his people, shall do any injury to any whiter person, he shall submit himself, or deliver up such offenders to justice.

Ninthly, That if any negroes shall hereafter run away from their masters or owners, and shall fall into Captain Cudjoe's hands, they shall immediately be sent back to the chief magistrate of the next parish where they are taken; and these that bring them are to be satisfied for their trouble, as the legislature shall appoint. [The assembly granted a premium of thirty shillings for each fugitive slave returned to his owner by the Maroons, besides expenses.]

Tenthly, That all negroes taken, since the raising of this party by Captain Cudjoe's people, shall immediately be returned.

Eleventhly, That Captain Cudjoe, and his successors, shall wait on his Excellency, or the Commander in Chief for the time being, every year, if thereunto required.

Twelfthly, That Captain Cudjoe, during his life, and the captains succeeding him, shall have full power to inflict any punishment they think proper for crimes committed by their men among themselves, death only excepted; in which case, if the Captain thinks they deserve death, he shall be obliged to bring them before any justice of the peace, who shall order proceedings on their trial equal to those of other free negroes.

Thirteenthly, That Captain Cudjoe with his people, shall cut, clear, and keep open, large and convenient roads from Trelawney Town to Westmorland and St. James's, and if possible to St. Elizabeth's.

Fourteenth, That two white men, to be nominated by his Excellency, or the Commander and Chief for the time being, shall constantly live and reside with Captain Cudjoe and his successors, in order to maintain a friendly correspondence with the inhabitants of this island.

Fifteenth, That Captain Cudjoe shall, during his life, be Chief Commander in Trelawney Town; after his decease the command to devolve on his brother, Captain Accompong; and in case of his decease, on his next brother Captain Johnny; and, failing him, Captain Cuffee shall succeed; who is to be succeeded by Captain Quaco; and after all their demises, the Governor, or Commander in Chief for the time being, shall appoint, from time to time, whom he thinks fit for that command.

*Treaty courtesy of the Kress Collection of Business and Economic Literature, Baker Library, Harvard Business School.*

(ARTICLE REFERENCE)  
**Maroonage and Flight:  
An Overview**

Paper presented at the Fourth Annual International  
Conference at the Gilder Lehrman Center for the  
Study of Slavery, Resistance, and Abolition

Unshackled Spaces: Fugitives from Slavery and  
Maroon Communities in the Americas  
Yale University, 6 December 2002

Loren Schweninger

In 1821, the South Carolina slave Joe, who lived near the state capital of Columbia, escaped from his plantation and began a one-hundred-mile journey as a runaway slave. Following the river systems to the southeast, he went along the Congaree and Santee rivers to the low-lying forest and swamp areas stretching back from the coast. He went undetected until he reached the Georgetown District, where he was confronted by a planter named George Ford, described by his neighbors as a “worthy and respectable Citizen.” Joe rose up against the white man, killed him, and fled into the woods along the lower Santee River.<sup>i</sup>

He quickly convinced other outlying runaways from plantations in the Claremont, Clarendon, St. Johns, St. Stephens, and Richland parishes and districts to join him. They established a base camp deep in the woods. Joe--or Forest as he came to be known because of his ability to disappear without a trace into the dense



tree-lined river areas--was a born leader of men: bold, intelligent, cunning, and fearless. He knew how and when to strike and how and where to escape. During the next two years he led a band of runaways as they pillaged, stole, attacked, and wreaked havoc on plantations in the area. "Most of the runaways flew to his Camp and he soon became their head and their life," a group of eighty slave owners, farmers, and planters explained in a petition to the state legislature. "He had the art and the address to inspire his followers with the most Wild and dangerous enthusiasm." The petitioners continued:

He was so cunning and artful as to elude pursuit and so daring and bold at particular times when no force was at hand as to put everything at defiance. Emboldened by his successes and his seeming good fortune he plunged deeper and deeper into Crime until neither fear nor danger could deter him first from threatening and then from executing a train of mischief we believe quite without parallel in this Country.

Local residents asked for help from the "proper Military department" and petitioned the Governor to assist them in bringing Forest to justice. Meanwhile, Ford's relatives offered an enormous reward of one thousand dollars for his capture. When one considers that the average reward for a runaway slave in South Carolina at this time was between ten and fifteen dollars and that it would take a common laborer several years to earn one thousand dollars, to offer such a sum was truly extraordinary. In 1822, the South Carolina General Assembly awarded the leader of a militia unit \$160 for supplies following an extensive search for the slave. But Forest remained at large. His and his men's intimate knowledge of the countryside, its hidden swamps and overgrown creeks, surpassed that of all others.

Finally, in August 1823, the planters and slave owners in the vicinity organized themselves into "companies as Infantry." They traversed Santee River Swamp from "the Confluence of the two rivers that form it to Munys Ferry a distance even by land," they noted, "of sixty miles." In fact, the distance they searched was many miles more considering the numerous tributaries and meandering riverbeds. They trudged through the dense foliage in the insufferable heat of late summer and fought off insects and snakes, searching as many possible hideaway locations as they could. Finally, fatigued by living in the wilderness and dispirited by the enormity of their task, they called off the expedition. Indeed, they complained, they might have passed within a few feet of the slaves and not known they were even in the same proximity so dense were the vines, undergrowth, and cypress trees.

It was at this point that Royal, a slave patroon who knew Forest, came to their aid. Owned by a Richland District woman who promised him freedom if he provided assistance, Royal led a small company of white men to a landing near Forest's camp. As the slave owners lay flat in Royal's boat, Royal beckoned Forest and his followers to come out of the woods. The fugitives trusted Royal and came toward the boat, discovering his betrayal too late. As they began to flee the whites rose up and discharged their muskets in "a single well directed fire" that killed Forest and three of his followers instantly. The rest of the gang were either chased down and shot, captured and hanged, or "frightened to their respective homes."<sup>ii</sup> That Forest was able to avoid capture for more than two years was remarkable. There was little doubt that his brief career as a rebel leader along the lower Santee River struck fear into the hearts of slave owners.

Judging from the response of area slave owners and farmers, Forest's activities were unparalleled and unprecedented in their audacity and their cunning, and the runaways achieved a greater success than many of their counterparts. However, Forest and his band of rebels were by no means unique. Beginning in the early years of South Carolina slavery, outlying slaves established settlements in the lowland swamps and backcountry. While their numbers fluctuated over time, pockets of outlying slaves were always a part of the region's landscape. During the 1730s, some fugitives fled to Spanish Florida, especially to a community populated by free blacks called Garcia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose.<sup>iii</sup> In 1765, some forty runaways, including women and children, lived in a settlement with four substantial buildings in the swamp north of the Savannah River. They subsisted by hunting and fishing and trading with plantation slaves. They possessed blankets, pots, pails, axes, tools, shoes, and fifteen bushels of "rough Rice."<sup>iv</sup>

In the Chesapeake region, the terrain and majority white population made establishing runaway encampments difficult. One group of African-born slaves ran away to the mountainous backcountry and lowland swamps. There, according to several scholars, men, women and children attempted to recreate an African society on the frontier. In 1729, another band of a dozen slaves absconded from a James River plantation taking tools, clothing, provisions, and arms; they later established a farming community near Lexington. However, such endeavors were rare and by the late eighteenth century, with the decline of Africans in the slave population, these resurrected African enclaves became virtually non-existent.<sup>v</sup>

Before and during the Revolutionary War, outlying colonies in South Carolina and Georgia grew in size, and after the war bands of runaways openly defied local authorities. One group of more than one hundred fugitive slaves established a small fort twenty miles north of the mouth of the Savannah River. They called themselves “the King of England’s soldiers,” and they raided farms and plantations and even attacked the Georgia militia. Thomas Pinckney, the Governor of South Carolina, informed the legislature that this and other fugitive gangs posed a serious problem; they were armed and included those who had fled to the British during the war. They were waging guerilla warfare against local residents.<sup>vi</sup>

During the Revolutionary era, colonies of runaways in West Florida and Louisiana grew as well, evolving from small enclaves of African and Indian raiders to what one author termed permanent settlements. Their residents were well-armed and moved “freely through trackless swamps and dense forests.” They established “independent settlements that equaled plantations in complexity.” Some hunted and fished while others raised corn and rice. In either case they traded with plantation slaves who provided them with supplies and occasionally sold their handicrafts in New Orleans. Many among them had friends and kin on plantations. One of the largest sanctuaries was Gaillardeland, an area equidistant between New Orleans and the mouth of the Mississippi River. The inspirational leader of the group was Juan Malo, a runaway from the German Coast north of New Orleans, who led raids on plantations, rustled cattle, and taunted Spanish authorities.<sup>vii</sup> From the colonial period until the end of slavery, bands of slaves, living in isolated, heavily wooded or swampy areas, or running to the mountains and beyond, attempted to maintain a separate existence. Some of these groups sustained their cohesiveness for several years, a few for longer periods. They made forays into populated farming sections for food, clothing, livestock, and trading items. Sometimes they bartered with free blacks, plantation slaves, and whites who owned no slaves. The ideas of freedom enunciated during the

Revolutionary era may well have influenced the outlying slaves, and they may well have been inspired by African “patterns of resistance and warfare.”<sup>viii</sup> But mainly they were responding to local conditions and local circumstances. They were willing to rise up against their owners and others by engaging in a futile, often suicidal, guerilla warfare.

Despite their ephemeral nature, runaway bands sometimes sent entire communities into panic. During the summer of 1795, residents of Wilmington, North Carolina, spoke of sporadic attacks from a “number of runaway Negroes,”

who secreted themselves in the swamps and woods during the day but came out at night to commit “various depredations on the neighboring plantations.” They ambushed and killed a white overseer before they were subdued and before their leader, the “General of the Swamps,” was shot and killed by members of a posse.<sup>ix</sup> During the summer of 1821, an “insurrection” broke out in Onslow County, North Carolina, when a number of “outlawed and runaway Slaves and free Negroes” banded together. Located between the White Oak and New rivers in the southeastern portion of the state, the long estuaries and forested sections provided good cover. The outlying slaves “daily increased in strength and numbers,” William L. Hill, head of a militia unit, wrote. Their bold acts of defiance became so alarming that “no inhabitant could feel himself at any moment secure in his life, person or property, from plunder, rapine, and devastation committed by them, daily and nightly in every corner of the County.” They were well-armed, cunning, daring, and desperate, Hill revealed; in broad daylight, they ravaged farms, burned houses, broke into stores, and “ravished a number of females.” It took Hill’s two-hundred-man militia unit twenty-six days searching through “Woods, Swamps & Marshes” to quell the “Outlaws.”<sup>x</sup>

Even more audacious was a group of runaways in the Piedmont section of North Carolina two decades later. In Halifax County, where deep ravines and rolling hills rather than dense forest and impenetrable swamps provided cover, armed runaways shot and killed livestock and threatened local farmers. When one farmer tried to pursue them, the slaves killed and butchered seventy-five of his hogs. The fugitives then sent word to him that if he would not hunt them again they would not kill any more of his hogs; however, if he continued to stalk them, they would stop killing his hogs and kill him instead. When another farmer, described as a “respectful Citizen,” was shot as he returned home one evening, area planters petitioned the legislature. They demanded a new law be enacted permitting them to shoot on sight slaves “lying out, lurking in the woods swamps & other secret places doing serious injury to the public.” The citizens also requested that the state treasury compensate the financial loss incurred by any slave owners dispatched in such a manner.

The legislators sympathized with the plight of the farmers, but responded by saying the “such a law would be unnecessarily cruel & sanguinary;” it would lead to great abuses and would render slave property insecure and consequently diminish its value. The law as it existed, a Select Committee pointed out, was sufficient to “suppress the evil.” In 1741, North Carolina lawmakers enacted legislation permitting any two justices of the peace to declare outlying slaves “outlaws,” thus

permitting slave owners, overseers, or other whites to shoot them on sight “without Accusation or Impeachment of any Crime.”<sup>xi</sup>

Similar circumstances existed in other southern states, especially the Carolinas and the lower tier of states from Georgia and Florida to Louisiana. Runaway bands hid in remote to isolated areas and intimidated and harassed local farmers and planters. Even “negro hunters” who came after them with tracking dogs were cautious about pursuing them too far into the backcountry. Sometimes runaways attacked slave owners and overseers; other times they committed “daring and atrocious” acts of highway robbery on innocent travelers.<sup>xii</sup> During his 1850s tour of the South, Frederick Law Olmsted stopped at a boardinghouse in Mississippi. After he had drifted off to sleep, a fellow traveller entered the room, awakening him from his slumber. His new roommate then took most of the sparse furniture in the room and pushed it against the door. Next he placed two small revolvers on a small end table near his bed “so they could be easily taken up as he lay in bed.” Even though it was a hot night and the room was stuffy and uncomfortable, the traveler said he would not feel safe if anything were left open. ““You don’t know,”” he confided, ““there maybe runaways around.””<sup>xiii</sup>

Sometimes groups of runaways were able to sustain themselves without marauding, pillaging or committing various “crimes.” In 1843, freeholders and other white inhabitants of King William County, Virginia, asked the legislature to sell fifteen hundred acres on the Pamunky River and other lands that were set aside during the colonial era for the Pamunky Indians. The lands were only “set apart,” not “granted away,” they argued. Now the tribe formed only a “small remnant” of the population, having “so largely mingled with the negro race as to have obliterated all striking features of Indian extraction.” The lands, the petitioners stated, are now inhabited by two “unincorporated bands of free mulattoes in the midst of a large slave holding community.” These free people of color might easily be converted “into an instrument of deadly annoyance to the white inhabitants by northern fanaticism.” The lands have also become a haven for worthless and abandoned whites and fugitive slaves. In short, tracts of land designated for Indians were a “harbor for every one who wishes concealment.”<sup>xiv</sup>

Historians have long been interested in these and other groups of outlying slaves in the southern United States. In 1939, Herbert Aptheker wrote a seminal article, published in the Journal of Negro History, titled “Maroons Within the Present Limits of the United States.” In subsequent years, Kenneth Stampp, Gerald Mullin,

Eugene Genovese, Peter Kolchin, Ira Berlin, Phillip D. Morgan, among others, have commented on, as one historian stated, “groups of escaped slaves known as maroons that found refuge on the frontier and in unsettled internal areas.”<sup>xv</sup> In our recent book Runaway Slaves, John Hope Franklin and I also touch on fugitive gangs who survived by their wits and violence.<sup>xvi</sup>

If, as Peter Kolchin suggests, all history is comparative, it might then be beneficial to place these southern United States fugitive bands into the broader contextual framework of maroonage in other parts of the Americas. The literature about Maroon societies elsewhere is far more comprehensive than writings about groups of runaways in the United States. Scholars have examined communities created by runaway slaves in the Spanish Americas (Cuba, Venezuela, Colombia, Mexico); in the French Caribbean (Saint-Domingue, Martinique); and in Brazil, Guiana, Haiti, and Jamaica.<sup>xvii</sup> Some of these societies evolved into powerful states with thousands of members and survived for generations, even centuries. This “marronage on a grand scale,” Richard Price argues, struck directly at “the foundations of the plantation system, presenting military and economic threats which often taxed the colonists to their very limits.” In a number of cases, whites were forced to negotiate with their former slaves.<sup>xviii</sup> Of course, maroon societies were not monolithic; each bore the stamp of its geographic location, resulting in distinct differences, including differences among those who were allowed to join. In addition, it was not always an African heritage that bound them together; the New World realities of geography, treatment, language, and the ratio of blacks to whites also played a major role.<sup>xix</sup>

Even considering these variations, runaway groups in colonial America and the United States were quite different from those in other parts of the Americas. Indeed, the very term “maroon” meant something different to southerners who owned slaves. Its usage in the West Indies, as a corruption of the Spanish *cimarron*, meaning “wild” or “untamed,” was discarded; instead, “maroon” was employed as an adjective to describe a pleasure party, especially a hunting or fishing excursion that lasted several days. Only the Great Dismal Swamp, on the border of Virginia and North Carolina, and the marshes and morasses of south-central Florida sheltered generational communities of outlying slaves in North America, and even these two were not comparable to maroon societies in other parts of the New World. During the Second Seminole War (1837/1843), for example, the federal government defeated the Florida maroons and removed them and their Indian allies to the American West.

The obvious question is why did such differences emerge? Why was slavery in colonial America and the United States so unique in this regard? Scholars have advanced a number of reasons. Slaves in North America suffered less from disease, were better fed, worked comparatively less, and lived on farms and plantations with resident owners as opposed to the many absentee owner plantations in the Caribbean and Latin America. The smaller proportion of African-born slaves and the larger percentage of whites in the general population in British North America was also a mitigating factor. Others have argued that there were fewer places to establish separate communities in the United States compared with the impenetrable mountains and forests of Hispaniola or Jamaica. Furthermore, the periodic instability of colonial governments in the Americas gave slaves more opportunities to escape.

While all of the comparisons delineated above have some validity, one factor with equal importance has not been emphasized by scholars. Perhaps colonial America and the United State provide the best example of the futility of creating a separate society of runaway slaves in the Americas. It was not due to its geography; lack of remote and isolated locations abounded. The recesses along the rivers of Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, as well as the dense forests of Alabama and Mississippi, and the isolated islands and bayous of the Lower Mississippi River Valley provided many possible locations. One observer noted that the islands in St. Mary Parish, Louisiana were desolate, isolated and located in the most "remote corner of the Globe."<sup>xx</sup> Indeed, it was striking that twenty or thirty miles from several of the largest cities in the South—Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, New Orleans—there were areas where, as was the case for Forest, fugitive slaves could easily conceal themselves.

The problem from a slave's perspective was the determination and vengeance of whites who rooted out and destroyed the camps of runaways. A recent study of slave patrols in the Carolinas and Virginia reveals how these patrols, consisting of slave owners and other whites, effectively destroyed the outlying bands. The patrols were far more active and, as time passed, more successful, especially in discovering groups of fugitive slaves, than scholars have previously thought. Following his successful (and rare) escape from the Lower South, Charles Ball noted that he ran only between midnight and three o'clock in the morning when the patrollers were resting. From nightfall until midnight and from three until daylight, "the patrol[s] are watchful, and always traversing the country in quest of negros."<sup>xxi</sup> Slave owners, overseers, and other whites formed their own search parties when the patrols were unsuccessful.

At the same time Forest was moving up and down the Santee River, another group of runaways formed in Christ Church Parish. The ringleader was a slave who belonged to the estate of a recently deceased resident. He was joined by another runaway, who was owned by a female slaveholder; a family of five slaves, who had recently been put up for sale, completed the band. The group managed to stay at large for some time—the ringleader for three years—but planters in the area finally hunted them down. “They continued out until October last, when the Children surrendered,” the pursuing slave owners testified, “(one having been born in the woods) the Father and Mother having been shot and killed.”

A short time later, another group in the same vicinity suffered a similar fate. During their time as outlying slaves they wreaked havoc on nearby plantations, butchering cattle, carrying off sheep and hogs, stealing tools and guns, and burning outbuildings. One captured slave boasted that within a month he had butchered fortyhead of cattle. But search parties also caught this group that included eighteen slaves from one plantation who ran off “under their driver;” one slave was shot and killed.<sup>xxii</sup> The fate of a gang who hid out in a cypress swamp near New Orleans, raiding farms and plantations, was similar. In 1837, the leader was killed and the runaways disbanded.<sup>xxiii</sup>

Planters and slave owners could also call upon militia units to root out gangs of runaways. Sometimes patrollers served in the local militia but often these groups, primarily of young men, were separate from the patrols. Militiamen could command larger numbers of men and were often called out when residents became especially fearful of “conspiracy” or “insurrection.” The units included captains, sergeants, and privates; they had legal authority to search virtually any slave quarters or plantation house. In times of crises they could hold appointment through executive authority, as in Virginia, in 1808, when special units were formed to suppress a rumored slave insurrection. As one militiaman recounted, they were instructed to search “the negro cabins, & take everything which we found in them, which bore a hostile aspect, such as powder, shot &c.,” and were told to “apprehend every negro whom we found from his home; & if he made any resistance, or ran from us, to fire on him immediately, unless he could be stopped by other means.”<sup>xxiv</sup> In 1832, a major general in the Mississippi militia called out a regiment because a “projected insurrection” had been discovered. He ordered his men to break up into groups consisting of one officer and sixty men and scour the area around Woodville to “apprehend all slaves under Suspicious Circumstances.” It proved to be a false alarm, as it was in Georgia in 1848 when the



Glynn County Rangers were given a similar order. Learning of a possible plot, Ranger Captain Hugh F. Grant quickly mobilized a cavalry company and went out to “protect the Community and County from insurrections.”<sup>xxv</sup>

Coincident with the growing success of patrols, slave owner search parties, and the militia was the shrinkage of secluded areas that had previously provided cover for runaways. This does not mean that inaccessible locations in the South totally disappeared; however, by the 1840s and 1850s much of the land across the Black Belt of Alabama, the Delta of Mississippi, and the sugar parishes of Louisiana was under cultivation. The forests in these areas and in the Upper South had succumbed to the ax while marshes were drained and lands reclaimed. The population density among white land owners increased substantially in the west during the generation before the Civil War. What were once remote and barely inhabited sections of Tennessee, Kentucky, and Arkansas during the 1820s were spotted with farms and plantations by the 1850s. The westward migration of owners and slaves was immense, as historians have noted, and the demographic realities of the new, relatively heavily populated west shrunk the possible sites for groups of absconders to remain hidden or at large.

But regardless of the landscape, it was clear that even in the eighteenth century, runaways in the United States stood the best chance of success by going it alone. The profile of runaway slaves in the Southern colonies and states remained remarkably constant from one generation to the next. They were overwhelmingly young men in their teens and twenties who set out by themselves to pass for free blacks or mingle in urban areas with other runaways. Only about one out of five absconders was a woman. Female slaves remained behind on the plantations and farms to care for their children who might suffer grievously if taken on an escape attempt. Most of those who fled, even in the second half of the eighteenth century, were American-born slaves, or Creoles; many among them spoke, acted, dressed, and behaved in a manner indistinguishable from free people of color. They were not easily spotted from their physical appearances or demeanor. This profile remained unchanged, even after the infusion of African-born blacks, in what one author calls a re-Africanization of the Lower South, in the decade prior to the 1808 prohibition of the African slave trade.<sup>xxvi</sup> If runaway gangs seldom lasted more than a year or two and often ended with many among them being killed, some individual slaves managed to sustain themselves in freedom by posing as free blacks. The towns and cities of the South became harbors for escaped slaves and a number of them, especially the most wily and skilled, were able to hire their own time and sometimes meld into the free black population. Although there were ebbs and flows in the economies of southern cities, there were few periods when hired slaves were not in

demand. Wages varied but black workers could command between \$75 and \$150 a year in the 1820s and 1830s and up to \$20 a month during the 1850s. They worked as laborers, dockhands, domestics, laundresses, gardeners, brick layers, stone masons, waiters, cooks, barbers, and in other capacities. In many urban areas, as competing whites pointed out, slaves dominated certain occupations. Although prohibited by law, self-hire was widespread and if runaways could convince a potential employer that they had been sent by their owner to find work they could be hired with few questions asked.<sup>xxvii</sup>

A few runaways, often the most ingenious, persistent, and lucky, made it to the North. About twenty-five years old, quick-spoken, articulate, and clever, the Tennessee slave Jim Lace set out in June 1839 for a free state. “This fellow has once before attempted to make his escape to a free State and was taken in Kentucky on his way to Illinois,” Asa Jackson, a farmer who lived a few miles west of Lebanon, explained. “I am apprehensive that he will again make a similar attempt and probably aim for the same State.” Among those who made it to the North were some who received assistance from Quakers, the Underground Railroad, and anti-slavery whites.<sup>xxviii</sup>

While the picture for individual runaways in the South was not as bleak as that for gangs of runaways, it was nevertheless one of failure. The overwhelming majority of fugitives was captured, jailed, returned to their owners, and punished. Those who remained out either in cities or towns or remote areas near their owners’ plantations, or who made it to the so-called Promised Land in the North or Canada, remained a tiny fraction of the runaway population. John Hope Franklin and I estimated that during the 1830s through the 1850s, perhaps only one or two thousand slaves a year made it to the North out of a annual runaway population conservatively estimated at fifty thousand.

Those who began the flight in the lower tier of states were almost always captured or came in of their own accord. On James Henry Hammond’s Silver Bluff Plantation on the Savannah River in South Carolina between 1831 and 1855, there was an average of two escapes per year (a total of fifty-three). Even though they often received sustenance, support, and encouragement from slaves on the plantation as well as help from slaves on neighboring plantations, not a single runaway gained permanent freedom. Hammond was well aware that those who deserted were “lurking” about in a nearby swamp. He waged a continuous but unsuccessful battle to stop the flow of food and provisions to outlying blacks, including punishing all

the slaves on his plantation for the “misdeeds” of a few. Plantation management, Hammond ruefully commented, is “like a war without the glory.”<sup>xxix</sup>

Those who persisted in absconding usually paid a heavy price. Most contemporaries affirmed that what were called habitual or perpetual runaways received cruel and brutal punishments. Slaves escaped with the mark of the whip on their backs, irons on their ankles, missing fingers and toes, and brands on their cheeks and forehead. The punishments of slaves in the Lower Mississippi River Valley seemed especially severe. In 1833 one runaway, age about thirty, described as having sunken cheeks, and sulky looks, would not be difficult to spot, his owner reported. He had an inch-high cross branded on his forehead, the letter “O” branded on his cheek, and the word “Orleans” branded across his back.<sup>xxx</sup> The sheriff of Points Coupes Parish, Louisiana, described a captured runaway in 1826 as having “an Iron collar three prongs extending upwards” and “Many scars on his back and shoulders from the whip.”<sup>xxxi</sup> It was habitual runaways who prompted the most harsh and brutal response from owners and overseers.

Some scholars have suggested that this was a time when owners and slaves came together and negotiated some type of compromise or accommodation. It made sense, so the argument goes, that owners did not wish to damage their property and that slaves who had no chance of remaining at large permanently would seek concessions concerning family visitations, food allowances, hiring arrangements, housing, or living conditions. The oft-quoted journal of slave owner Robert “Councillor” Carter, the largest slaveholder in pre-Revolutionary Virginia, reveals how he discussed family matters with runaways and sought to accommodate their requests. In response to a paper discussing the harsh treatment of habitual runaways, one distinguished scholar of slavery asserted, “Christian masters did not treat their slaves that way.”<sup>xxxii</sup>

In fact, Christian masters did treat their slaves that way, and worse. Some tried to reason with their human property after a first or second escape attempt, but it was a rare owner who did not inflict painful punishments following the fourth or fifth episode. Moreover, the great majority of slave owners in the South were forced to confront the problem. During his tour of the southern states Olmsted recounted that he did not visit a single plantation where owners did not discuss the problem of runaways. It was so common, he noted, that southern whites described it as “a disease—a monomania, to which the negro race is peculiarly subject.” The New Orleans physician Samuel Cartwright called it by another name, “drapetomania,” an hereditary disease afflicting Negroes causing them to abscond. It should be kept in

mind that “throughout the South,” Olmsted concluded, “slaves are accustomed to ‘run away.’”<sup>xxxiii</sup>

Another current argument concerns sympathetic whites assisted fugitive blacks in their quest for freedom. There was a network of conductors on the Underground Railroad who guided slaves from station to station along routes that began just about anywhere in the South, including Charleston, South Carolina. The recent publication of Raymond Dobard and Jacqueline L. Tobin’s Hidden in Plain View: the Secret Story of Quilts and the Underground Railroad, which has sold more than one hundred thousand copies, the founding of the Underground Railroad and Freedom Center in Cincinnati, with millions of dollars of state and private funding, and the efforts of the National Park Service to designate sites that served as hideaways for fugitives are but a few examples of how contemporaries wish to project the present into the past.<sup>xxxiv</sup>

Forest knew the risks he was taking when he ran away and enticed his brethren to join him in the woods and swamps along the Lower Santee River. His life was one of fear, anger, hatred, hostility, movement, and within a relatively short time, death. With few exceptions the leaders of groups of outlying slaves suffered a similar fate. The power of those in control was brought to bear with rapid efficiency against slaves who sought to sustain themselves in freedom in the midst of the plantation South. If the great majority of runaways did not die at the hands of a group of white planters led by slave (who later received his freedom for his betrayal) theirs was largely a futile effort.

There was little in the way of accommodation or negotiation on the part of masters. When runaway blacks were captured they faced harsh physical punishments, or sale to a distant land, or both. What is surprising, given the results, was that the stream of runaway slaves continued unabated over the decades and indeed increased as time passed. It served as a constant reminder to the slaveholding class that the property they were seeking to control was not controllable and the image they were trying to project, as benevolent paternalistic masters, was a lie.

Endnotes:  
Maroonage and Flight:  
An Overview

- i. Petition of the Inhabitants of Claremont, Clarendon, St. John, St. Stevens, and

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iv. Ira Berlin, Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 67, 120-21, 170. v. Ibid. vi. Herbert Aptheker, "Maroons Within the Present Limits of the United States," Journal of Negro History, 24 (April 1939), 170-71.

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xiv. Petition of the Citizens of King William County to the Virginia General

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**(ARTICLE REFERENCE)**  
**INVESTIGATING THE “TAÍNO” ANCESTRY OF THE JAMAICAN  
MAROONS: A NEW GENETIC (DNA), HISTORICAL, AND  
MULTIDISCIPLINARY ANALYSIS AND CASE STUDY OF THE  
ACCOMPONG TOWN MAROONS**

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## **ABSTRACT**

While scholars like Henry Louis Gates, Jr., have popularized the use of genetic data (DNA) as a source of African American history and ancestry, similar studies are lacking for other peoples of African descent. The current study is an interdisciplinary, collaborative research project undertaken by a historian of Africa and the African diaspora in the Americas and a genetic anthropologist. Methodologically, we incorporate traditional sources of historical inquiry, as well as oral history and genetic data (mitochondrial, Y chromosome, and autosomal DNA), to investigate and suggest answers to the following question in popular and scholarly debates about the ethnogenesis of the Jamaican Maroons: to what extent did the indigenous Taínos form part of their early history? Taking the Maroon community of Accompong Town as a case study, we use a novel approach that reconsiders and disrupts mainstream scholarly discourses on Maroon ethnogenesis in Jamaica and, by extension, the larger circum-Caribbean world.

## **Introduction**

Located roughly 90 miles south of Cuba in the Caribbean Sea, Jamaica is currently the most heavily populated Anglophone Caribbean island, with a population estimated at 2.9 million people. As of 26 December 2017, the CIA World Factbook (2017) website records that the island-nation is predominantly inhabited by peoples of African descent, being comprised of 92.1% black, 6.1% mixed, 0.8% East Indian, 0.4% other, and 0.7% unspecified ethnicity. The last two miscellaneous categories underpin a longstanding and growing debate among scholars as well as the Jamaican public regarding whether or not indigenous Taínos have persisted in the Jamaican population, especially from the time of the British conquest of the island in the mid-seventeenth century to present. Today, some Jamaicans claim that they are descendants of the original inhabitants, and thus, in their popular imagination and “memory”, maintain that the Taínos are not extinct. This notion of Taíno ethnogenesis is particularly prevalent among the Maroons.

For example, Paul H. Williams, a lecturer at the University of the West Indies-Mona, who frequently contributes articles on the Jamaican Maroons and the Taínos to *The Gleaner* newspaper, published a series of articles entitled “I Am Not Extinct” in that paper (Williams 2014a, 2014b). In these articles, he reported the story of Dr Erica Neeganagwedgin, a self-identified Jamaican Taíno who was born in a coastal community in the parish of St Elizabeth in western Jamaica (see Neeganagwedgin 2015). As Williams (2014a) notes, “The hills, valleys, and plains of south Manchester [parish] and St Elizabeth Manchester [parish] have long been known as Taíno territories”.

Many of the Jamaican Maroons, who some scholars have recognized as having indigenous American ancestry, have also long argued and still maintain that their original ancestors were not African, but indigenous Arawak Indians/Taínos (see, for example, Williams 1938, 379). For example, the theme of the Sixth Charles Town International Maroon Conference, which was held in the Windward Maroon settlement of Charles Town in the parish of Portland in eastern Jamaica (see Figure 1) in 2014, was “Maroons, Indigenous Peoples, and Indigeneity”. The



**Figure 1. Map showing former and present-day Maroon settlements. Source: Adapted from Bilby (1992, 2).**

“Taíno Day” panels featured scholarly and cultural presentations by academics and other people who self-identified as Taínos from Jamaica, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, the United States, and other countries in the region (see Williams 2014b, 2014c). This association with self-identified Taínos underscores the popular belief by many Jamaicans, including Maroons, that the Taínos were the first Maroons. As Paul Williams (2014d, 13) asserts:

There was interbreeding between the Taínos and the Africans in the interior, and, as such, the Taíno genes survived through this interbreeding, and the descendants of such unions have survived until today. This survival theory has much credibility since the Taínos are to be found on other Caribbean islands such as Puerto Rico and Hispaniola.

Not everyone shares this notion of Taíno persistence in Jamaica, however. In an article entitled “Wackos are not Extinct”, Jamaican attorney-at-law Daniel Thwaites – a columnist for *The Gleaner* – strongly criticized Paul Williams’ report on people who claimed Jamaican Taíno ancestry. In his cynical and insult-laden rebuttal, Thwaites sarcastically dismissed Williams’ articles as being filled with “ethnic anxiety” and “sentimental declaration”. He ridiculed them as being “emotionally laden” and that “The proof of Taíno ethnicity was family lore, daydreams and ‘blood memories’”. Without masking his disdain for the arguments made in the articles, and those making them, Thwaites (2014) remarked:

I trust the health ministry is aware of this ChikunTaino [a play on words based on the chikungunya outbreak in Jamaica at the time] outbreak, especially since I think it warrants referral to Ward 21 [a mental health facility . . .] The Taíno [. . .] were wiped out by European diseases and savagery, and any survivors interbred with incoming Europeans and Africans and ceased to exist as a discrete and identifiable group [. . .] Are the histories wrong about the Jamaican Taíno extinction? I don’t think so. I’ve come to doubt many things taught as history, but this isn’t one of them [. . .] Mind you, when DNA testing becomes sophisticated or widespread enough, I expect scientists will find Taíno genes represented in the population [. . .] But after 500 years of intermingling, it’s an epic

imaginative leap to call oneself ‘Native’ [. . .] more troubling are the countless people who have been perplexed and deformed by racism, so they invent imaginary ancestors of a desired ethnicity. When I hear these things, I think, “You Ar-a-wak-job!” [. . .] And that’s what’s disturbing about this Taíno resurrection. I sense it stems from some racial screwedupness [. . .] a genetic test can be had for US\$99. Dr Needabrainjob [a derogatory play on words on Erica Neeganagwedgin’s last name] should present one before we gather around the communal campfire, sing some Taíno version of kumbaya, and burn all the history books.

Despite Thwaites’s skepticism, this notion that the Maroons have Taíno ancestry has also been suggested and popularized in documentary programs such as the BBC’s genealogy series *Who Do You Think You Are?* One episode featured former Welsh sprinter and hurdler Colin Jackson, who is of Jamaican descent. Jackson had his DNA sampled for the show, which revealed that his ancestry is 55% African, 38% European, and 7% “Native American”. After showing Jackson’s surprise about the percentage of his “Native American” descent, the narrator asserts that “it’s probable that Colin’s Native American DNA comes from Jamaica’s original inhabitants – the Taínos – Amerindians descended from South and Central American tribes”. To gather further information “about his new-found ancestors”, Colin visits the Taíno museum, which displays information about their way of life and “physical attributes”, including their “Mongoloid features – stocky, medium height, with black, coarse [. . .] hair, and lightbrown complexion [. . .] a staple food was cassava”. Upon reading that description, Colin gleefully states: “there’s lots of things there that relate to me. The Mongoloid features, for one. I always wondered where I got these eyes from [pointing to the shape of his eyes]. Now, they possibly could have come from there, from my Native American look [. . .] and I love cassava”. He later visits a local expert, who explains that Colin’s presumed Taíno heritage was derived from the Maroon ancestry of his Jamaican father. Later in the show, Jackson visits the Windward Maroon settlement of Moore Town in Portland (see Figure 1), where he converses with Maroon Colonel (Chief) Wallace Sterling, who concurs that Taínos continue to live among present-day Jamaicans and their descendants in the diaspora, through their DNA passed on during their earlymodern period interactions with formerly enslaved Africans who escaped into the mountains.<sup>1</sup>

These arguments highlight a number of issues relating to how individuals and societies as a whole identify, imagine, and attempt to reconcile the history and ethnogenesis of the early American civilizations which came into contact with Europeans and Africans in the New World. Embedded within these paradigms are longstanding antagonisms between oral history, colonial writings, and contemporary scientific evidence. In light of these deep divisions and debates in the public sphere (and in academia, as we shall soon see) about whether or not the Jamaican Taínos are extinct or extant, and the likelihood (or not) that they made genetic contributions to Maroons, to what extent does the scholarly literature confirm, complicate, or negate either side of these assertions? As Thwaites has urged, is DNA analysis (alone) a panacea for this popular and scholarly debate regarding the indigenous American ancestry of peoples of African descent in the New World, or does it have to be deployed in conjunction with other, more traditional methodologies?

In the current interdisciplinary, collaborative study, we incorporate both traditional modes of inquiry – such as primary documents and the secondary sources, literature on historical archeology, as well as oral history – and newer methodologies – incorporating genetic (DNA) data and analysis – to investigate the extent to which definitive answers can be given about whether or not the Taínos or other indigenous groups from the Americas or elsewhere formed part of the biogeographic origins of the Accompong Town Maroon community. In a previous study, Madrilejo, Lombard, and Benn Torres (2015) considered the maternal ancestries of this community through the use of mitochondrial DNA. This work found that the vast majority of participants carried mitochondrial lineages commonly found in Africa and throughout the African diaspora. The only non-African mitochondrial lineage observed in the Accompong Maroon sample was a lineage that is indigenous to the Americas. Furthermore, neither of the individuals carrying indigenous American genetic lineages indicated any recent immigration from outside of the Maroon community back to their grandparents' generation. The combination of the genealogical interview and genetic data suggests that both African and indigenous American women were foundational to the contemporary community. The presence of indigenous American mitochondrial lineages in modern-day Maroon populations supports long-held narratives by Maroon oral historians, as well as some scholars, indicating that there were familial relationships between African and indigenous American peoples (Carey 1997, 656).

The current paper extends that work with the consideration of two additional sets of genetic markers from Y chromosome and autosomal DNA. After providing a brief overview of the history of Marronage in the Americas generally and in Jamaica specifically, we outline how the methodology of genetic ancestry may be applied to reinterpret the Maroon past, interrogate the historiographical and archaeological literature regarding the possible populations which contributed to our findings of indigenous American ancestry among the Maroons, and finally render an assessment of how the convergence of these sources may provide more conclusive answers to the central question regarding the indigenous ethnogenesis of the Accompong Town Maroons, within a broader Caribbean context.

While we will show how the integration of genetic data with historical and other sources can be a useful tool for interrogating the Maroon past, we are also mindful of and have taken into account the limitations and implications of incorporating genetics into this analysis, as is evident from previous research on populations (such as African Americans) that have incorporated this methodology (see, for example, Bolnick, Fullwiley, and Duster et al. 2007; Duster 1999; Duster 2010; Nixon 2007; Royal et al. 2010). Further, we understand the potential cultural, political, and economic implications of our findings on Maroon communities. Nonetheless, we contend that our novel, comprehensive, and nuanced assessment of Jamaican Maroon ethnogenesis does not undermine Maroon traditions, beliefs, or sense of identity. Rather, our research adds yet another strand to what is already a complex historical and cultural Maroon mosaic, forged over centuries in the Jamaican hinterland. Moreover, our findings are not contradictory to the long-held claims that Maroons stake over their traditional forms of governance, land rights, and the

economic benefits that they seek to pursue from the sustainable use of these traditional territories for the preservation, development, and continuation of their way of life. These claims are not based on the existence or lack of indigenous ancestry, but the long struggle of Maroons to gain and maintain their freedom from the colonial state and domination by the nation-state that succeeded it.

## **Colonialism, slavery, and marronage in Jamaica**

For as long as there has been slavery in the Americas, enslaved peoples resisted in various forms, one of which included removing themselves from the plantations to establish sovereign societies in the most inaccessible parts of the New World. Such enclaves were established in slave-holding territories such as Brazil, Barbados, Central America, Colombia, Cuba, French Guiana, Dominica, Ecuador, Hispaniola, Jamaica, Mexico, Peru, Surinam, and the United States. Since the publication of seminal books such as Richard Price's edited volume *Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas* (1973, and subsequent editions), the historiography on marronage has grown substantially (for other general overviews and references, see Beatty-Medina 2017; Bilby and N'Diaye 1992; Florentino and Amantino 2011; Heuman 1986; Hoogbergen 1995; Kars 2016; Thompson 2006). Colonialism in Jamaica, specifically, began in 1494 with the arrival of Columbus and the subsequent annexation of the island with support from the Spanish Crown. Within 10 years, Spanish colonists and their enslaved Africans would arrive to exploit Jamaica's natural resources. Concurrent with the arrival of enslaved peoples was the emergence of communities of self-liberated Africans later known as Maroons (Knight 1990, 304, 1978, 287). The arrival of African and European peoples, as well as the development of Maroon communities, marked the beginning of a new era for the Caribbean, in which the landscape and indigenous populations were forever altered.

Explanations of the etymology of the term "Maroon" vary widely. Some scholars (Mann 2011, 331) claim an indigenous American origin for the term, yet the indigenous meaning and specific language of the progenitor word varies from source to source. Similar uncertainty surrounds the possible European roots of "Maroon", although scholarly consensus points to a disambiguation of the Spanish term "cimarrón" as the likely origin. The word "cimarrón" was used to describe feral livestock or other creatures living in remote areas. Regardless of its origin, by the sixteenth century the word "Maroon" was used to describe individuals who refused to be enslaved and consequently freed themselves by escaping and, in many cases, fighting back against institutionalized slavery (Price 1996, 445). Other terms, such as "rebellious negroes" and "negroes in rebellion", were also used during the period.

Spain's acquisition of colonies in the Caribbean (see Andrews 1978; Wheat 2016) would also prove consequential to Atlantic World history in a variety of ways. In 1509, Juan de Esquivel colonized Jamaica on behalf of Christopher Columbus, with the first few enslaved Africans arriving in 1517 (Padrón 2003, 153; Saco 1879, 73). During the period of the Iberian Union, during which the Spanish and Portuguese Crowns were united (1580–1640), Portuguese slave ships provided captive Africans to their Spanish domains. This arrangement resulted in a

majority of enslaved Africans coming to Spanish America (including Spanish Jamaica) from Portuguese outposts in Kongo and Angola, West Central Africa. As Wheat (2016, 80) states, “By around 1620, Angola had become the Spanish Americas’ most important source of enslaved subSaharan Africans – a role it would retain until the Iberian Union came to an end in 1640”. The work of Heywood and Thornton (2007) sheds further light on the significance of Central African populations on Atlantic World history. Almost as soon as Spanish colonists introduced enslaved Africans to the island, some of the captives began to escape and form new Maroon groups or joined established ones.<sup>2</sup> By 1655, the British wrested control of Jamaica from Spain (see Wright 1923), ushering in plantation agriculture on a grander scale and importing large numbers of enslaved Africans to labor in this endeavor (Delle, Hauser, and Armstrong 2011, 332; Kopytoff 1978, 287). As detailed by Newman et al. (2013), the British imported enslaved peoples from across the West African region, but the Gold Coast (Ghana) and Bight of Biafra likely provided the greatest number of enslaved Africans who labored on Jamaican plantations during this period. With regard to Maroon communities, according to Kopytoff, there were two principal Jamaican Maroon polities that emerged at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The Leeward Maroons resided in the west-central region of the island, and the Windward Maroons resided in the eastern regions. Prior to the emergence of these two polities, there were several smaller communities within the interior of the island as a result of marronage from Spanish plantations. With the English annexation of Jamaica, these Spanish Maroons were eventually incorporated into the Windward Maroon communities (Kopytoff 1978, 287).

Throughout the eighteenth century, Maroon numbers began to swell, and their communities became more powerful and better organized. British attempts to recapture and enslave Maroon communities led to the First and Second Maroon Wars, approximately 1655–1740 and 1795–1796, respectively. These conflicts were characterized by the effective use of guerilla warfare tactics by the Maroons. This fierce resistance ultimately led to British acquiescence and peace treaties with the two major Maroon groups (Leeward and Windward) in 1738–1739. The effects of the treaties were to preserve the autonomy of these Maroon communities, stop the influx of enslaved peoples into these strongholds, and to station small groups of British officers amongst the Maroons. In addition, Maroons were required to assist militarily in quelling slave revolts and return any enslaved fugitives to the British authorities (Carey 1997, 656; Kopytoff 1976a, 1976b; Paterson 1970). In this regard, the Maroons remained in a semiautonomous political state until slavery was abolished in Jamaica beginning in 1834 and beyond 1962, when the island gained its independence as a member of the (British) Commonwealth.<sup>3</sup>

The would-be Maroons who took refuge in the mountainous hinterland of the island were not an ethnically homogenous group. Spanish Jamaica was a stratified society with the Spanish at the apex. However, it also included “natives”, enslaved Africans, “free blacks”, mulattoes, and “creole Africans” (those born on the island), many of whom served together in the colonial military forces (Padrón 2003, 129, 156–7). Likewise, those who had escaped into the mountains before and after the British invasion of 1655 would have most likely been an ethnic mixture of the various groups, which comprised the populations of people of color, including Africans,

possibly Taínos, as well as those of mixed or mestizo ancestry. According to Kopytoff, although West Africans and their descendants in Jamaica constituted the majority of the Maroon population in the English period, there were three other minor demographic sources of which the Maroon groups were made up. These included one group that she defines as being of “American Indian stock”, which she further subdivides into two specific groups: namely, the “Arawaks” and the “Moskito Indians”. A second group came from Madagascar and the third from Europe (Kopytoff 1973, 18, 19, 20). To what extent can the most recent methodologies incorporating genetic analysis help us in corroborating Kopytoff’s findings?

## **Using genetic (DNA) analysis in humanities and social sciences research**

Early twentieth-century anthropologists and medical scientists were the first to adopt methods from the field that would become known as molecular genetics and apply them to questions related to human diversity (Mielke and Crawford 1980-84; Marks 2002, 131). Initially relying upon classical genetic markers such as proteins found in blood and then eventually actual DNA sequences, researchers learned that genetic variation in contemporary populations reflected both distant and more recent events in human history (Jobling, Hurles, and Tyler-Smith 2004, 51). More recently, scholars are also increasingly using genetic research to interrogate biogeographic ancestry<sup>4</sup> as it relates to questions of ethnogenesis, ethno-national identity formation, and creolization of peoples in Africa and the African diaspora, including Latin America and the Caribbean (Benn Torres et al. 2008; Benn Torres, Stone, and Kittles 2013; Deason et al. 2012; Fendt 2012; Gaieski et al. 2011; Gomez, Hirbo, and Tishkoff 2014; Mendizabal et al. 2008; Price et al. 2017; Ruiz-Linares et al. 2014; Simms 2010; Stefflova et al. 2011; Tishkoff et al. 2009).

Regarding Jamaican Maroons, genetic data provide scholars and local communities with alternative perspectives on the colonial experiences and demographic impacts of African people in the Americas. Furthermore, genetic data can be informative about the geographic origins of Maroon ancestors and the roles that each sex played in forming the emerging community, given the social and political structures of the colonial era. Through the systematic examination of maternally, paternally, and bi-parentally inherited genetic markers, these data can provide more information about the female, male, and general aspects of Maroon history, respectively.

Maternal histories may be examined through analyses of mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA). MtDNA is found outside of the nucleus and is located within organelles known as mitochondria. MtDNA is generally inherited unchanged from the mother to all offspring, and only females pass their mtDNA onto subsequent generations. Because mtDNA does not exchange genetic material with other regions of the genome, it is useful for studying only the maternal line of an individual (Relethford 2004, 29). Alternatively, the non-recombining portion of the Y chromosome (NRY) is useful for understanding more about paternal ancestry. Similar to mtDNA, the NRY is passed generally unchanged from father to son and only men pass it to their male offspring. This particular inheritance pattern makes it useful for exploring the paternal lineage of an individual (Jobling and Tyler-Smith 2003). Furthermore, both mtDNA and NRY have specific genetic markers that may be grouped into genetic families known as macrohaplogroups (van Oven and Kayser 2009). The broad categorization into macrohaplogroups can be deconstructed into smaller groups of related lineages known as haplogroups. These haplogroups contain a variety

of related sub-lineages, designated by alpha-numeric designations. For example, Macrohaplogroup L consists of seven different haplogroups: L0, L1, L2, L3, L4, L5, and L6. Haplogroup L2, for example, contains five recognized sub-lineages: L2a, L2b, L2c, L2d, and L2e. Each of these sub-lineages can be further categorized based on their unique haplotypes, e.g. L2a1, L2a2. . . L2a5.<sup>5</sup> Haplogroups tend to be common in localized regions of the world and infrequent in other regions of the world (Wilson et al. 2010). For example, mtDNA lineages that belong to an L-type haplogroup are most common among African populations. Consequently, identifying which mtDNA or NRY haplogroup an individual belongs to is useful for estimating ancestry from a particular geographic region (Jobling, Hurles, and Tyler-Smith 2004, xx). Unlike mtDNA or NRY, bi-parentally inherited DNA comes from both sides of the family and is suitable for gaining a more complete picture of an individual's ancestry (Johnston and Thomas 2003). In the current study, both uni- and bi-parentally inherited DNA were considered in our examination of the bio-geographic origins the Accompong Town Maroon community.

## Genetics as methodology and source for Accompong Town Maroon history

The Accompong Town Maroon settlement is located in the Cockpit Mountains of St Elizabeth (see Figure 1). Historically, both official and unofficial entities have collected

Table 1. Age and sex distribution of the Accompong population.

Age cohort	Male (%)	Female (%)	Average (%)
0–14	25.0	21.6	23.3
15–24	18.0	16.0	17
25–29	39.1	37.8	38.45
30–64	3.8	4.9	4.35
65+	14.1	19.8	16.95
TOTAL	100	100.1	100.05

sporadic (and often inadequate) demographic data on Maroon villages. Within the last two decades, three different organizations have estimated the population of Accompong to consist of 576 individuals (representing 168 households), 788 persons (with 202 households, 67% of which is headed by males), and between 800 and 1,000 residents (approximately 145 households; see Projects Abroad, 2017; SDC 2009; World Bank 2000-2001). As shown in Table 1, the Jamaica Social Development Commission (SDC) also provides additional demographic information on Accompong, for 2009.

A previous study carried out by Madrilejo, Lombard, and Benn Torres of Maroon ancestry included analysis of the maternal lineages via mitochondrial DNA from 50 adult individuals in the Accompong Town community (Madrilejo, Lombard and Benn Torres 2015, 437). In the current study, we employed the same samples but genotyped 17 small segments of repetitive DNA known as short tandem repeats or STRs on the NRY.<sup>6</sup> A total of 31 men were included in this analysis, though this total fell to 25 men when combining the data for those with shared recent relatives.<sup>7</sup> Genotyping of the Y chromosome STRs was done using the AmpF $\ell$ STR® Y-filer™ kit (Applied Biosystems) in accordance with manufacturer instructions. The resulting



haplotypes were run in a haplogroup-predicting program in order to indicate possible haplogroup designations (Athey 2006). The predicted haplogroup designations were then confirmed by genotyping the appropriate haplogroup diagnostic markers (Y Chromosome Consortium 2002). Haplogroup frequencies were then calculated by hand.

A subset of 26 samples from both males and females were genotyped at 17 bi-parentally inherited autosomal markers. These 17 loci, also STRs, were genotyped using the AmpF $\ell$ STR $\text{\textcircled{R}}$  Identifiler Kit in accordance with manufacturer's instructions (Applied Biosystems). These data were used to estimate admixture components. As used in the current study, admixture describes the amount of ancestry from three putative parental populations: namely, Africans, Europeans, and East Asians. Data from East Asians were used as a comparative population because data from Native American populations were not available for these genetic markers in the literature. For the purposes of this analysis, East Asian populations can serve as a proxy for Native American populations due to genetic similarities as a result of shared ancestry between East Asian and Native American populations. The gene identity method as implemented in the statistical program, ADMIX95, was used to estimate the proportion of ancestry deriving from these parental groups (Chakraborty 1975). Comparative allele frequency data for each putative parental population was available for only 13 of the 17 STRs and was obtained from the ALFRED database (Rajeevan et al. 2011). Finally, in addition to estimating admixture components, we also checked each sample for association with a major continental group using the data from the 17 autosomal markers. This was done using an online database, PopAffiliator, designed for use in the forensic genetic community (Pereira et al. 2010). PopAffiliator accesses the probability of affiliation of a genetic sample with a major continental group deriving from Africa, Europe, and Asia. While both admixture estimates and population affiliation provide some information about the biogeographical ancestry of the Accompong Maroons, they are indicative of different aspects of genetic ancestry. Admixture estimates are indicative of the proportion of ancestry from putative parental populations while population affiliation is indicative of general similarities between a sample and a continental grouping.

Analysis of the mitochondrial DNA indicated that Accompong Town Maroons have primarily African matrilineal lines represented by haplogroups L1, L2, and L3. Mitochondrial haplogroups L1, L2, and L3 are found in the highest frequencies across the African continent and each haplogroup contains many sub-lineages, designated by an alphanumeric name that follows the primary haplogroup name (Salas et al. 2002). MtDNA haplogroup L2a (specifically the L2a1 lineage) was the most frequently observed lineage among the Accompong community. This haplogroup belongs to a lineage that is ubiquitous across Africa and very common among populations of African descent throughout the Americas (Salas et al. 2004). In addition, mtDNA haplogroup L2a was also the most frequently observed haplogroup among a sample of 400 Jamaicans from the general population as well as comparative African populations from the Gold Coast and the Bight of Benin (Deason et al. 2012, 24). The African geographic origin of haplogroup L2a is difficult to ascertain because of the wide distribution of this haplogroup across the continent; however, it is believed to have emerged about 87–89,000 years ago (Rito et al. 2013; Soares et

al. 2009). The presence of haplogroup L2a in Accompong Maroons is indicative of shared ancestry with both the general Jamaican population and West African populations. This is not surprising, given that Maroon populations in Jamaica are a subset of people who escaped from the plantations to settle in the mountains. Therefore, it follows that they share the same biogeographic origins in Africa.

Among the Accompong community, the only maternal lineages not from African peoples came from indigenous American women, as indicated by the presence of haplogroup B2 (Madrilejo, Lombard, and Benn Torres 2015). While the geographic origin of haplogroup B2 is unclear, it is estimated to be around 21,000 years old and is distributed throughout North, Central, and South America (Achilli et al. 2008; Kumar et al. 2011, 293). Furthermore, haplogroup B2 has been observed throughout the Greater Antilles but has yet to be observed within the Lesser Antilles (MarchecoTeruel et al. 2014; Tajima et al. 2004; Vilar et al. 2014). The presence of haplogroup B2 within Jamaica is consistent with what has been observed within the region. In the study that considered 400 individuals from the general Jamaican populace, Deason and colleagues (2012) observed two individuals with indigenous American mitochondrial ancestry. One individual belonged to mitochondrial haplogroup A2 and the other

*Table 2. Y chromosome haplogroups observed in male Accompong Town Maroon participants listed by continent of origin.*

Y haplogroup	% (n)
African	76.0
E1b1a	(19)
R1b2-V88	8.0
	(2)
Eurasian	12.0
R1b-P297	(3)
Q1a	4.0
	(1)

belonged to haplogroup B4, though the authors suggest that, with the appropriate genotyping, the latter haplogroup would more properly fall into a sub-lineage of B4: namely, haplogroup B2. The presence of B2 among the Accompong Town Maroons specifically suggests that, in addition to African women, indigenous American women were also genetic founders of the contemporary Accompong community.

Paternal genetic ancestry of contemporary Accompong Maroons, revealed by the NRY genetic markers, parallel the findings along the matriline, in that the Accompong Town Maroons have primarily African genetic paternal ancestry. However, unlike the maternal lineages, there was

no indication of indigenous paternal ancestry. Instead, the paternal lineage illustrates contributions from Eurasian populations with nearly a third of men in the sample having a Y chromosome of Eurasian origin, indicated by haplogroups R1b-P297 and Q1a\*, as shown in Table 2 (Myres et al. 2010).

Y chromosome haplogroup R1b-P297 is most common throughout Eurasia and specifically in western Europe, while haplogroup Q1a\* descends from lineages that originated in Central Asia and are most frequently found among men in northern Asia (Myres et al. 2010; Malyarchuk et al. 2011). The presence of these haplogroups within the Accompong sample group suggests limited genetic exchange from Eurasian populations into the community. In addition to these Eurasian Y chromosome lineages, another haplogroup, R1b2-V88, was also found among the Accompong Maroons. R1b2-V88 is characteristic of Afro-Asiatic and Chadic speakers in the northern and central Sahel region of Africa, respectively. The highest concentrations of R1b2-V88 carriers are among peoples in northern Cameroon, northern Nigeria, Chad, and Niger (Cruciani et al. 2010). Overall, Y chromosome haplogroup R1b2-V88 is rare throughout the African continent. When it is present, upwards of 95% of the population carry this lineage. The presence of R1b2-V88 among the Accompong Town Maroons suggests that some of the African ancestry found in the contemporary community was derived specifically from peoples in northern Cameroon, northern Nigeria, Chad, or Niger. Furthermore, this finding is consistent with previous work indicating that haplogroup R1b2-V88 is also found among the general Jamaican population (Simms et al. 2012).

The results of the autosomal analyses were complementary to the uniparental data in that they highlighted the dominance of African ancestry within the Accompong Town Maroon community, though ancestry beyond Africa was also apparent. Based upon the data from 13 autosomal loci, the average admixture estimate indicates that, while Accompong Town Maroon ancestry principally derives from Africa (see Table 3), both European and East Asian populations provided some genetic influx to the community.

The admixture estimates from European and East Asian populations were 13% and 9%, respectively, and were derived using the Gene identity approach

**Table 3. Population average admixture (m) estimate<sup>a</sup> based on 13 autosomal markers.  $R^2 = 0.884265$ .**

	Sub-Saharan Africa	East Asia	Europe
m	0.7806	0.0916	0.1278
Standard error	0.1387	0.1261	0.1881

<sup>a</sup>derived using Gene identity approach (Chakraborty 1985). (Chakraborty 1985). We acknowledge, however, that given the small sample size of the Accompong Town community and corresponding standard errors of the admixture estimates, our assertions based on this particular analysis warrant additional sampling and testing.

Nonetheless, the European admixture in the Accompong Town Maroon sample is comparable to that observed in the general Jamaican populace, in which estimates range from 10 to 16%, according to several previous studies (Benn Torres, Stone, and Kittles 2013; Benn-Torres et al. 2008; Simms et al. 2010). The similar ancestry between Accompong Town Maroons and the general Jamaican populace reflects the common West African ancestry between the two groups. Additionally, exogamous marriage to non-Maroons may also bear some responsibility in making the ancestry estimates similar between Accompong Town Maroons and the greater Jamaican population (Dunham 1946, 81).

The East Asian admixture among the Accompong sample, however, is higher than the 6% East Asian admixture observed in the general population (Simms et al. 2010). This is especially notable considering that the sample size in the study based on the general populace was over four times as large as the sample size from Accompong: 111 versus 26 participants, respectively. The East Asian ancestry among the Accompong Town Maroon sample may reflect the post-emancipation influx of East Asian peoples into Jamaica and, by extension, into this Maroon community (Bryan 2004, 25). However, this does not explain why the East Asian component is higher among Accompong Maroons relative to the general population. While additional samples and high-resolution genotyping would be useful in more fully addressing this issue, as indigenous American populations descend from subsets of East Asian peoples, the East Asian ancestral component observed in the Accompong Town Maroons may possibly reflect ancestry from indigenous American populations.

The predominance of African ancestry in conjunction with lower levels of nonAfrican continental ancestry among the Accompong Town Maroons was also evident in the analyses using PopAffliator. Nearly 77% of the Accompong Maroon samples had the highest affiliation probability with African populations, while 19% of the Maroon samples had the highest affiliation probability with European populations, and only 3%, or one individual, had the highest affiliation probability with Asian populations. The Asian ancestry detected in both the admixture estimates and population affiliation analysis is supported by participants' responses to the genealogical interview. However, given that indigenous ancestry was found along the maternal genetic lineages and that there is an East Asian origin of indigenous American populations, it is plausible that what is termed East Asian ancestry may also include partial ancestry from indigenous American peoples. Though the genetic data are compatible with Maroon biogeographical ancestry from Africa and, to a lesser extent, the Americas, Asia, and Europe, it is worthwhile examining the historical, ethnographic, and archaeological literature on indigenous American and other non-West African groups of people who were present in colonial Jamaica during the formative decades of Maroon ethnogenesis, to help elucidate the meaning of the genetic data, and to draw firmer conclusions.

## **Taíno and other possible sources of the Amerindian ancestry of the Jamaican Maroons**

Between 300–100 BCE, Jamaica's first human inhabitants – the Arawak languagespeaking people whose descendants would go on to be commonly referred to as Taínos – began their migration out of the Amazon-Orinoco region of the South American continental mainland. They made their way eventually to their new homes in the northern Caribbean islands, including Jamaica, between the seventh and ninth centuries CE. Over the centuries, they may have had contact and intermingled with other Amerindian groups in Central and North America, including the Maya (Atkinson 2006, 215; Senior 2003, 474, 475). According to Allsworth-Jones (2008, 61), there are over 270 archaeological excavation sites across Jamaica that provide a general understanding of the indigenous communities present on the island prior to the arrival of Europeans. The Taíno of Jamaica took advantage of the many floral and faunal resources available to them, and likely introduced useful plant species to the island during the settlement period. In fact, evidence suggests that the introduction of nonnative plant species and the development of land for agriculture by the Taíno produced an anthropomorphic landscape in Jamaica, long before the arrival of Europeans (Santos, Gardner, and Allsworth-Jones 2013).

Like other Taíno groups, indigenous Jamaicans established a settled agricultural society, cultivating cassava as a staple food alongside various other crops. In addition, intensive fishing allowed for utilization of the abundant marine protein sources, from small fish to sea turtles that existed just offshore (Santos, Gardner, and Allsworth-Jones



Figure 2. Jamaican Coat of Arms, showing the indigenous Taínos and national motto. Reproduced courtesy of Jamaica Information Service. <http://jis.gov.jm/symbols/jamaican-coat-of-arms/>.



Figure 3. Jamaican \$500 bill, showing Nanny of the Maroons, overlooking Coat of Arms with Taínos. Reproduced courtesy of Bank of Jamaica. <https://www.banknotes.com/JM77.JPG>.

2013). The several styles of pottery found throughout Jamaica demonstrate that its inhabitants not only had the capability to produce significant amounts of this material, but also may have engaged in material and cultural exchanges with other Caribbean islands (Hopper 2008; Santos, Gardner, and Allsworth-Jones 2013). Today, there are remnants of the existence of the island's first people, as evidenced by official narratives of Jamaican history, place names, foods, and certain cultural items (Higman and Hudson 2009, 319). Moreover, the government of Jamaica promotes a narrative of national origin which emphasizes descent from various ethnicities. This is enshrined in the country's national motto, "Out of Many One People", which is "based on the population's multiracial roots. The motto is represented on the Coat of Arms, showing a male and female member of the Taíno tribe" (OPM 2017), as depicted in Figure 2. Furthermore, although it may have been a design coincidence, the Taíno-Maroon connection is also implied by the juxtaposition of the likeness of Jamaica's only National Heroine, Nanny of the Maroons (c. 1685–1755), the African-born leader of the Windward Maroons, and the Coat of Arms with the iconography of the Taínos, on the country's \$500 bill (see Figure 3).

However, the major inconsistency in the literature on Maroon ethnogenesis in Jamaica is whether or not there was gene exchange from the Taínos to the Maroons. In other words, did the Maroons and Jamaica's indigenous inhabitants live contemporaneously and/or intermingle? As Madrilejo, Lombard, and Benn Torres (2015, 432) have noted, "There are discrepancies regarding [ . . . ] Maroon ancestry[,] with some scholars noting ancestry from both Africans and Taínos, Jamaica's indigenous population, while other scholars only acknowledge African ancestry". Although she admits that the evidence to support this is inconclusive, Kopytoff (1973, 18) states that "there is a remote possibility that some of the native Arawak Indians [Taínos] remained in the island and eventually mingled with the Negroes". Other scholars agree with Kopytoff, suggesting that, while many indigenous Caribbean peoples died as a result of European colonization, some survived in the hinterlands of the island and possibly allied with self-liberated Africans in what became known as Maroon communities (Agorsah 1994, 230; Ragosta 2011; Wilson 1997, 253). Winks (1971, 78) has also speculated that "The Maroons were descendants of Negro slaves (and perhaps of Arawak women) who had escaped from the Spanish before the British conquest of Jamaica". Maroon scholar Bev Carey is perhaps the most ardent proponent of the argument that the Taínos were the first Maroons, and that they also coexisted

and intermingled with escaped African slaves in the mountains to develop Maroon culture and society (see especially chapters 1–7 in Part 1 of Carey 1997).

However, many writers and scholars from as early as the eighteenth century to the present have dismissed this foundational Maroon ethno-genetic “creation” story of their beginnings as a nation of mixed African and Amerindian ancestry. In stark contrast to Kopytoff and Carey, for example, Mavis Campbell (1990, 9) laments that “A most stubborn misconception, held even by some Maroons and other Jamaicans today, is that the Maroons are the descendants of the Arawak Indians [Taínos. . .] As for the Arawak presence, we have no evidence that any had survived by the time of the British occupation [of Jamaican in 1655]”. Surprisingly, Campbell relies on evidence for the extinction of the Taínos before the British seized the island, from the written works of colonial planter-historians such as Edwards, and Dallas, both of whom she acknowledges as being biased, ethnocentric, and having compromised economic interests (see Campbell 1990, 9). Edwards ([1794] 2015, 1:142) wrote that

it pleased the Almighty, for reasons inscrutable to finite wisdom, to permit the total destruction of this devoted people; who, to the number of 60,000, on the most moderate estimate, were at length wholly cut off and exterminated by the Spaniards, not a single descendant of either sex, being alive when the English took the island in 1655, nor, I believe for a century before.

The chronicle of exactly what happened to the indigenous Jamaican people during the European incursions of the early modern period remains an open topic of debate. The numerical estimates for the size of the Jamaican indigenous population when Columbus and the conquistadors arrived in Jamaica in 1493 run from the more credible figure of 60,000 people to other data, which suggests that the island may have been capable of supporting several million individuals prior to European contact. However, the sources are largely in agreement that this population was decimated within only three decades or so after the Spanish started settling the island, due to the harsh working conditions in Spanish mines and on plantations, enslavement, mistreatment, Old World diseases, and even genocide (Atkinson 2006, 215; Cameron, Kelton, and Swedlund 2015; Denevan ([1976] 1992), 41; Guerra 1993; Jacobs 1974; Keegan 1996; Padrón 2003, 31, 147–148, 152; Senior 2003, 473; Watlington 2009). Denevan ([1976] 1992, 41) writes that “the large native population of Jamaica was gone by this time [1540] and that of other islands nearly so”. According to Dallas, the 60,000 members of the “Indian race [Taínos]” were precipitously driven to extinction under the Spanish, as “not a single descendant existed in 1655, when [General Robert] Venables and [Commander William] Penn landed on the island” (1803, 1: xxviii). It is true that, under Spanish rule, the Taíno population was rapidly decimated. A Spanish colonial census of 1611, for example, reported the presence of only 74 indigenous individuals in Jamaica (Campbell 1990, 9). Campbell (1990, 9–10) further agrees with Dallas’ (1803, 1: xxvii– xxviii) speculation that, while this group of “Arawaks” may have escaped from Spanish enslavement on the coastal plantations by taking refuge in the mountains, all of them may have ultimately succumbed to the harsh conditions of life in the hinterland, and that their



remains were reported to have been discovered in a cave some years later, effectively signifying the demise of indigenous existence in Jamaica.

Dallas was referring to Spanish Governor Don Fernando Melgarejo de Córdoba's dispatch of an expeditionary force in 1601 to seek out and subjugate the bands of "Indians" who had established sovereign strongholds in the Sierra de Bastida or Blue Mountains; an area which the Spanish and later British enslaved Africans would eventually call home (see Padrón 2003, 77, 152; Kopytoff 1973, 19). This proves that the "rebellious Indians" did in fact take up refuge in the mountains, which would complicate census records that purported to know the exact numbers, whereabouts, and disposition of Taínos on the island. While scholars cite a lack of written documentary evidence that would indicate whether or not the indigenous Jamaicans mingled with these Africans and their descendants in the Blue Mountains, Padrón (2003, 152) queries:

It would be interesting to find out if these [the Taínos marooned in the Blue Mountains, against which, in 1601, the Melgarejo government had sent a party to try and subdue] were the only remaining indigenous people in the island. Certainly, the Spaniards had not settled all areas of the island with the same thoroughness.

In addition to the Taínos, however, there are other possible sources that could account for the indigenous American ancestry of the Accompong Town Maroons, which our DNA analysis has uncovered. This includes the Miskito.

The Miskito (also variously spelled Miskitu, Muskito, or Moskito in the literature) Kingdom, which was located on the Miskito Shore of Central America (which includes parts of modern-day Honduras and Nicaragua), was comprised of two sets of groups: one of Amerindian ancestry and the other of mixed African and Amerindian descent. The former, which mainly inhabited the southern part of Nicaragua, has been referred to as "Tawira Miskitu" or straight-haired Miskito, while the latter are referred to as "Miskito Sambu" or "Mosquitos Zambos". Although there are varying accounts of the dates and circumstances, the Miskito Sambu formed in the mid-seventeenth century when slaves captured the slave ship that was carrying them to "Tierra Firme", wrecking it on the Caribbean-Atlantic coast on the border of Honduras and Nicaragua. The English commissioned Moskito mercenaries, both as a stand-alone force and part of a multi-ethnic company made up of whites and blacks to assist them in their quest to conquer their adversaries. From the 1690s through to the late 1780s, the Miskito Sambu became hired hands, armed and supported by English traders, with whom some of them also intermingled. In addition to permitting the British to establish plantations with African slaves on the Miskito Coast, they also spearheaded regular raids (mainly on Maya groups) in the interior of Central America and captured thousands of indigenous people, whom they sold to Jamaican slave dealers, in addition to hunting down Maroons in Jamaica prior to the signing of the treaties. The Miskito Kingdom was led by the Miskitos Zambos, the hierarchy of which was organized under leaders who held the title of "king" (see Helms 1983; Kopytoff 1973, 19; Offen 2002, 337–43; Olien 1983; Thornton 2017).



There are indications of some specific numbers of Miskitos brought to Jamaica in the literature. In 1709, for example, Miskito slave raiders sent a shipment of 30 “Indians” to their British clients in Jamaica. In 1720, 50 Miskito fighters and their commanding officers were paid to engage the Maroons in battle in the mountains for a period of six months; however, this campaign ended in failure and they all chose to return to Honduras (Campbell 1990, 37, 54, 99–100; Gallay 2002, 300; Wright 1970, 20). The following extended quote from Uring (1726, 235–6) provides vivid details of the nature and course of the Miskito-English alliance against the Maroons in the early eighteenth century.

The Inhabitants of Jamaica had a Project of inviting the Muscheto People to live there, and assigning 'em certain Lands as their own Possessions, and they should have and enjoy all the Liberties of Englishmen; but whether that Project was brought to Perfection, or that the People of the Muschetos did not like to quit their own Country, I am unacquainted; but certain it is, they are still there. About Four or Five Years since, the Government of Jamaica made a Law, for inviting several Hundreds of 'em to that Island, in order to take or destroy the run-away Negroes, which did much Mischief to the Out-Plantations, and accordingly Sloops were sent to invite them; and there went to Jamaica about Two Hundred, which were formed into Companies, under Officers of their own Nation, and were paid Forty Shillings per Month, and every Man Shoes. They staid at that Island several Months, and performed the Service they were employed in very well and were sent Home again well pleased. I being then at Jamaica, we had the Story of them as follows: When they were out in Search of the Run-away Negroes, and having some White Men for their Guides who knew the Country, one of 'em seeing a wild Hog, shot it; at which the Muscheto Indians were much displeased, telling them, that was not the Way to surprize the Negroes, for if there were any within hearing of that Gun, they would immediately fly, and they should not be able to take any of 'em; and they told 'em, if they wanted any Provisions, they would kill some with their Launces, or Bows and Arrows, which made no Noise.

This campaign and desire to suppress the Maroons would continue right up to the signing of the treaties of peace between them and the English. As Long (1774, 2: 343) writes, “About the year 1738, the assembly resolved on taking two hundred of the Mosquito Indians into their pay, to hasten the suppression of the Marons [sic]”.<sup>8</sup> However, the signing of the peace treaties did not end the introduction of Miskito into British colonial Jamaica. On the contrary, as Offen (2015, 54–5) concludes:

Jamaican merchants purchased the vast majority of all captives taken by the Mosquito. Surprisingly, Jamaican historiography does not reflect the probability that, on average, around 100 Amerindian captives came to or moved through the island annually over the century spanning 1670 to 1770.

This would mean that thousands of Amerindian captives would have been sent to Jamaica over this long time period. Other populations that may have contributed to the Maroon genepool arrived in Jamaica in much smaller numbers.

Largely between 1675 and 1690, the English also brought a very small number of African slaves of Malaysian descent from the Indian Ocean island of Madagascar. They contributed minimally to Maroon communities, notably among one of the Leeward Maroon bands under Kojo's leadership (Curtin 1969, 125, 144; Dallas 1803, 1: 31, 32, 33; Kopytoff 1973, 19, 20; Mannix and Cowley 1963, 67).<sup>9</sup> These former Madagascan slaves joined Kojo's group after running away from plantations around Lacovia in St Elizabeth, most likely in the early–mid 1700s when Kojo was at the height of his notoriety, although, as Dallas (1803, 1: 32) speculates, “it is probable that the intercourse [between the Madagascans and the other Maroons under Kojo's command . . .] had existed between seventy and eighty years [prior], and an intermixture of families had taken place”.

In addition to the Taínos, Miskitos, and Madagascan Malaysians, we may add a fourth (but not final, as we shall see shortly) group of indigenous peoples who may have contributed to the extra-West African ethnogenesis of the Jamaican Maroons, including those of Accompong Town. The Assembly also proposed resolutions to hire Native Americans from the English American colonies, such as Chickasaws from Carolina and Georgia, but, as Wright (1970) maintains, “no Act to this effect was passed”. In the early modern period, however, the various alliances made between the European powers and their Native American counterparts, which took advantage of both the intense rivalries and competition among the former as well as preexisting fissures and warfare among the latter, also produced thousands of slaves which were exported to the European colonies in the Caribbean. The English settlers of Charles Town (Charleston), South Carolina, in particular, initially purchased slave captives taken in wars that were fought by their Native American collaborators (such as the Chickasaw) and shipped them to their Caribbean colonies; chiefly to Barbados, secondarily to Jamaica, and other islands such as Antigua, Bermuda, and Saint Christopher (see Galley 2002, 294–301; Klein and Vinson 2007, 17–21; Thornton 2012, 309–11). Moreover, as Jaynes has noted:

Many of the early slaves in North America were Native Americans, mostly Algonquians of coastal Virginia and North Carolina. From the early 1600s to the 1680s, English settlers often kidnapped Native American women and children in the coastal areas of North Carolina and Virginia, enslaved them, and either kept or sold them. This Native American slave trade involved a number of colonies, including Virginia, Carolina, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and the Caribbean islands of Jamaica, Barbados, St. Kitts, and Nevis. From 1680 to 1715, the English sold thousands of Native Americans into slavery. By 1720, however, most colonies in North America had abandoned the use of Native Americans as slaves and adopted African slavery instead. (Jaynes 2005, 2: 589. See also Galley 2002, 311–4)

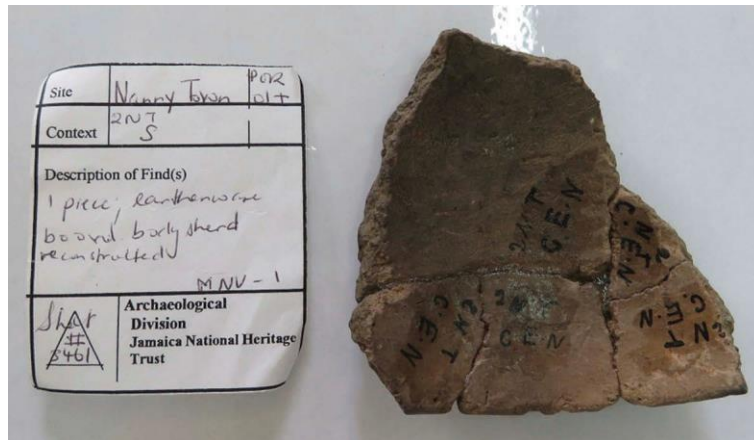
Newell (2015, 14, 50, 175) also notes that the English colonial government and individual traders also shipped “hundreds of New England Indians” to plantations in Jamaica, the Azores, Barbados, Bermuda, Providence Island, possibly Madagascar, among other destinations. Newell (2015, 180), in fact, describes Jamaica as “the main entrepôt for the Caribbean slave trade in general and the Indian slave trade in particular [. . . it remained] a likely endpoint for the New England Indians” in the seventeenth century. However, given the “scanty” and “anecdotal”

documentation on the Native American slave trade to the Caribbean, as Gally (2002, 295, 296) laments, there is no specific indication in the literature as to exactly which of these groups were shipped to Jamaica, how many, where in Jamaica these slaves were sent, who bought them, whether or not they remained permanently in Jamaica, the extent to which they might have intermingled with Africans, including the Maroons in the mountains, and other pertinent information that would be useful to this study of Maroon ethnogenesis. However, Gally mentions that 1,000–2,000 Tuscarora and their allies in North Carolina were among the Native American peoples who were enslaved – some of whom were sold in the West Indies – during the British slave trade in around 1670–1715. Gally further estimates that the total number of southern Amerindians captured and sold into slavery by the British and their Native American allies numbered 30,000–50,000 individuals during this period. These victims, some of whom were also perpetrators of slave raiding at one point or another, included the Arkansas, Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, Guale, Mocama, Petit Nations of the lower Mississippi Valley, Piedmont, Savannah, Taensa, Tunica, and Westo (Gally 2002, 298, 299).

In addition to the Taínos, Miskitos, Malagasies, and Native Americans (mainly from South Carolina), the fifth and final group that may explain the “Native American” component of the Accompong Maroon’s DNA strain are Asians, specifically Chinese and Indian. The Chinese were initially brought to Jamaica in 1854 as indentured contractors to labor on sugar estates, with the majority of the group arriving in the early–mid twentieth century as free immigrants. Commonly referred to as “East Indians” in the Caribbean, people from the Indian subcontinent, like the Chinese, were also brought to Jamaica in the nineteenth century as indentured workers on sugar and other plantations. The first wave of these immigrants arrived in Jamaica from 1845 until the early 1920s. Many of the parishes in which they settled are home to the major Maroon groups in Jamaica (Senior 2003, 107, 243). In the early decades, these groups remained largely insular, until population, political, and cultural forces caused them to increasingly integrate within the larger Jamaican society.

### **Additional evidence from historical archaeology**

Given the amalgam of groups that could possibly explain our DNA findings, it is necessary to utilize other sources of information about the Maroon past in our investigation of the indigenous American ancestry in the DNA of the Accompong Town Maroons. This includes the findings of archeological reconnaissance, surveys, and both minor and major excavation expeditions to Maroon archeological sites in Jamaica, which occurred in the late 1960s, the early 1970s, and the early 1990s. They have uncovered artifacts which are housed in the Department of History and Archeology at the University of the West Indies-Mona, the Jamaica National Heritage Trust (JNHT), and other repositories. The main scholar of Maroon archaeology in Jamaica is the archaeologist and cultural anthropologist Kofi Agorsah, who has



**Figure 4.** Pieces of Taíno earthenware found at Maroon archeological site of Old Nanny Town (JNHT).

pioneered the excavation and ethnographic study of Maroon archaeological sites there, as well as in Surinam and other places in the Americas and West Africa. In addition to providing valuable information to the public about Maroon archaeology on his website, the Maroon Heritage Research Project (see [www.kormantse.com](http://www.kormantse.com)), Agorsah has also published widely on the topic, building on the works of earlier researchers (see Agorsah 1990; 1992; 1993a; 1993b; Agorsah 1994; 2013; Bonner 1974; Teulon 1967).

In his groundbreaking edited volume *Maroon Heritage: Archaeological Ethnographic and Historical Perspectives*, Agorsah (1994, 163–87) details the methods and findings of archaeological material unearthed from excavations conducted in the early 1990s at Old Nanny Town (Nanny Town) in the Blue Mountains and Old Accompong Town (Old Town) in the Cockpit country. At Old Nanny Town, the artifacts found at the deepest levels of the digs included local highly-fired earthenware (see Figure 4), terracotta figurines, stone tools, flint stone fragments, and shell artifacts, believed to be “Amerindian-Arawak” in origin. At the higher levels and on the surface, Agorsah’s archaeological team unearthed imported ceramics including: Bellarmine jars; tin-glaze and delftware; glass bottles used to store wine and other alcoholic and beverages as well as medicines; objects made of metal such as an assortment of weapons and tools including musket balls, fragments of gun barrels, spearheads, knives, nails, door hinges, and lead; household and social items such as crockery, smoking pipe stems, and bowls made from different colored clays; fashion artifacts such as buttons, stone, and glass beads; and currency items such as pieces of eight Spanish coins. They also found grinding stones on the upper surface levels at Old Nanny Town (Agorsah 1994, 177–81).

While some of the aforementioned British and Maroon (African) artifacts were identified in Old Accompong Town, Agorsah did not unearth any items directly associated with or attributed to the Taínos. However, he reported finding “local earthenware” at Old Accompong Town, arguing that, although “No specific period has been assigned to the excavation material [. . .] many of the artifacts point to the late seventeenth/early eighteenth century, although occupation

of the area could have been much earlier” (Agorsah 2007, 344). Given that Old Accompong Town has received significantly less attention as an archaeological zone than Old Nanny Town, presumably, when major digs are conducted at the former, the expectation is that Amerindian (Taíno) objects may also be found.

## **Conclusion**

The findings of this study reinforce the notion that some Accompong Town Maroon genetic ancestry extends beyond Africa, to include European, East Asian, and indigenous American ancestors. These genetic data also provide some insight into the roles of both European and indigenous American peoples in shaping the contemporary Accompong Town Maroon community. Based upon the current genetic data, asymmetric genetic contributions from non-African parental populations characterize the Accompong Town Maroon community. Both the autosomal and NRY data indicate the presence of non-African ancestry, despite the often hostile relationship between British colonists and Maroons and the purposeful isolation of Maroon communities away from British settlements. European females, unlike African and indigenous American women, do not appear to have been involved in shaping the genetic variation of the contemporary Accompong Town Maroon community. The lack of European maternal ancestry likely reflects the social strictures dictating female mate choices throughout and after the formation of the Accompong Town Maroon community. This is in contrast to European males, who socially were not restricted in choosing sexual partners and whose presence in the Maroon communities likely goes back to the Spanish period in the first instance, as well as those documented in the treaties of 1738–1739, which mandated that British army officers were to be stationed in the Maroon communities (Kopytoff 1976a).

Although Maroon communities in many parts of the Americas had significant, documented interrelations with Amerindian peoples (both advantageous and adversarial), scholars have debated the role of indigenous American peoples in the formation of Jamaican Maroon communities. While some scholars suggest intermarriage between indigenous American and African peoples, others proclaim that indigenous Americans were effectively extinct in Jamaica by the time of Maroon emergence (Carey 1997, 656; Campbell 1990, 296). The mitochondrial data specifically refute extinction and support the idea that indigenous American women indeed shared some formative role in the emergence of the Accompong Maroon community. The autosomal data are also suggestive of partial ancestry from indigenous Americans. With regard to the biological history of men in the region, Y chromosome lineages specific to the Americas tend to be very rarely found in the Antilles and were not detected in Accompong Maroons (Mendizabal et al. 2008). The general pattern of the presence of indigenous American maternal lineages and the lack of indigenous American paternal lineages is concordant with colonial histories in which indigenous men were killed or otherwise systematically excluded from contributing to future generations, while women were absorbed or assimilated into colonial society involuntarily or voluntarily via marriage and other forms of social relationships (Cameron, Kelton and Swedlund 2015).

Nonetheless, the circumstances that led to the introduction of non-African ancestry into the Accompong community is beyond what genetic data can reveal. In this case, DNA is simply a testament to genetic exchange between African and non-African peoples. Accordingly, the appropriate historical, political, and social contexts are critical in understanding how and why these populations encountered each other. Recognizing the genetic legacies of Accompong Maroon ancestors provides a clearer understanding of historically relevant social structures as well as helping to more thoroughly comprehend the processes of ethnogenesis as it occurred in the Americas. The current study presents a better understanding of Accompong Maroon ancestry as the genetic data evidence the juxtaposition of semi-isolation and, simultaneously, the permeability of barriers that marked the Accompong community. Ethnohistorical sources suggest that while the Maroons historically, physically, and culturally isolated themselves from other Jamaicans, there was also a long history of movement into and out of the community, including accepting runaway slaves from nearby plantations or absorbing other Maroon communities (Sheridan 1985). Thus, the genetic ancestry of Accompong Maroons proves to be more diverse than other scholars have previously posited and therefore supports a history of greater interaction with other Jamaican populations than may have been expected, given the geographic isolation of the community.

Beyond genetic data, archaeological findings also lend credence to the coexistence between indigenous American and African peoples in early modern Jamaica. For example, archeological artifacts recovered in Old Nanny Town, the remote, early eighteenth-century stronghold of Queen Nanny – who Maroon oral history maintains was the sister of the main Leeward Maroon leaders Kojo and Accompong (after whom Accompong Town was named) – point to the contemporaneous coexistence between African and indigenous American peoples in that location (Agorsah 1994, 230). These artifacts suggest that the individuals who produced them had some familiarity with both African and indigenous American cultures. Furthermore, the ethnobotanist Summer Ragosta (2011, 365) argues that Maroons in Jamaica possessed knowledge of the medicinal use of various Caribbean flora, presumably knowledge that would have originally come from indigenous culture.

Furthermore, as Kopytoff (1973, 19) concludes:

Some of the Indians may have defected and mingled with the Negroes in the woods, and some runaway slaves may have been part Amerindian through earlier unions between slaves and Indians. The Amerindian contribution to the Maroon stock was doubtless very small, but there may have been some. Their cultural contribution appears at present to be negligible, even if some Arawaks may have survived in the woods and imparted some of their skills to new Maroons.

The demographic data on the Taínos from Spanish and British sources from the period must also be problematized. The British, and to a lesser extent the Spanish before them, were relegated to their coastal plantations and the periphery of the mountains, and prevented from venturing deep into the forests (with a few exceptions, such as when Nanny Town was captured and held briefly

in the 1730s and during the expeditions to meet with Kojo in the west and Quao in the east to negotiate the treaties) due to the natural and human dangers that lurked therein. It is therefore highly probable that they were simply wrong about the nonexistence or extinction of the Taínos or other indigenous peoples in the mountains, concluding that they were extinct. As Senior (2003, 474) argues, “Given the ruggedness of the terrain of the Greater [. . . Antilles] and the difficulty of communications, it is easy to believe that the Taínos contributed to a ‘maroon’ element in Jamaica and the other islands for a long time after their official extinction”. Agorsah (1994, 182) concurs with this assessment by concluding that:

Association between [archaeological] material [. . . found] at Nanny Town [. . .] points to the suggestion that a few (even if a few scores) of the ‘Arawaks’ who may have escaped into the inaccessible parts of the Blue Mountains and similar places, were still around [. . .] at the time the English drove the Spanish from the island. Although attempts to provide population figures for the prehistoric groups as well as for Maroons have been made, there is no indication of the areas covered by the counting. It is not known whether the inaccessible areas of the Blue Mountains were also covered, as there is no record that indicates that any person or person visited the Blue Mountains to take a census [. . .] It appears from the evidence from Nanny Town, that prehistoric groups in hideouts on the island may have been gradually absorbed into the groups who later joined them.

While the extent to which the Leeward and Windward Maroon bands were able to have direct contact with each other, and therefore intermingle, is debated in the literature, the geography of Jamaica’s interior would not have necessarily been a barrier to such interactions. Ainsley Henriques (2014), chairman of the Jamaica National Heritage Trust, asserts that:

There are [. . .] trails oriented east to west that linked Maroon communities of the east with those in the west. These trails ran along the ridges of the Blue Mountains (in the east), joining up with other trails in western mountain ranges. These trails may have originated as the same trails their Taíno forebears [sic] used. Some of these trails are still in use.

Unlike the Taínos, the Miskitos and the Maroons would have been too antagonistic against each other to form any alliances, whether loose or close. Campbell (1990, 9) dismisses the notion that the Miskito Indians could have intermingled with the Maroons, given that:

The Miskito Indians were in fact used by the British as ‘mercenaries’ to fight the Maroons on different occasions, but there is no evidence to show that there was ever any friendly relationship between these two groups. On the contrary, the evidence showed these Indians devoutly loyal to the British and by the eighteenth century they actually ceded their sovereignty to Britain, by having their monarchs approved of and crowned in Jamaica by the governor [. . .] It does not seem likely that these Indians would have wished to join any enemy of Britain – not the Spaniards, whom they despised, not the Maroons, who would be deemed troublesome to their friends.

Furthermore, mercenary work is traditionally male-oriented employ. The indigenous genetic ancestry found among Accompong Maroons was only detected along maternal lineages, indicating that indigenous women introduced those genetic lineages into the Accompong

community. Because women were not likely to have been Miskito mercenaries, Miskito peoples are unlikely to have been the source of indigenous ancestry among Accompong Maroons. Moreover, there is not enough evidence on the other Amerindian groups that were sold as slaves to Jamaica from the southern part of the United States, which would give us information to make an assessment of the extent to which they could have intermingled with the Maroons, and therefore explain the origins of our DNA findings.

Taken in tandem, therefore, the historical, ethnographic, archaeological, geographic, oral history, and genetic evidence suggests that indigenous Americans, quite possibly the Taínos, were present in the Jamaican hinterland before and after the British conquest of the island in 1655, and that there were likely interactions between them and the African Maroons. While the archaeological evidence of an indigenous presence in the Blue Mountains is conclusive, but not yet sufficient for Accompong Town and other Leeward Maroon communities due to the lack of adequate excavations to date, it is likely that such communities existed given the proximity of coastal Taíno communities to the mountains in western Jamaica. When we combine the aforementioned sources with the genetic data, our conclusion is therefore that the most probable source of the non-African ancestry found within the Accompong Town Maroon population is indigenous to the Caribbean and potentially from Taíno ancestors.

Further research is needed to more fully address the question of Maroon ethnogenesis by collecting more DNA samples not only from Accompong Town but also the other four major Maroon communities across Jamaica, as well as in the Maroon diaspora.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, newly collected DNA samples should undergo higher-resolution analysis, including full sequencing of the mitochondrial genomes as well as sampling across the entire genome using ancestry informative markers to inform more about the biogeographical origins of Maroon communities. We have already begun this task, in earnest. In our current historical and genetic research project on the Windward Jamaican Maroons in Moore Town, which also included oral history interviews with Maroon elders, participants asserted their ancestral intermingling with Taínos in the Blue and John Crow Mountains, and even pointed to current phenotypical attributes of some members of the community (hair texture that is straight with a loose curl, and tawny skin tone in particular) as being “Indian”, by which they meant Taíno in origin. Collecting more DNA samples from additional Jamaican Maroon groups will enable us to make more thorough, nuanced, and conclusive arguments than previously postulated, not only about the ethnic makeup of the Maroons, and whether or not the Taínos were the first Maroons, but also reconstruct the formative period of Marronage, ethno-national identity formation, and creolization in early communities of free peoples in the Americas.

## Notes

1. See Season 3, Episode 3, “Colin Jackson”, aired 20 September 2006. Like this BBC program, the film projects of Henry Louis Gates, Jr., such as his PBS series “African American Lives”, “Faces of America”, and “Finding Your Roots”, in addition to his related books (Gates 2007, 2009, 2010, 2014), have brought more public attention to the



ways in which DNA research, when combined with solid historical methodologies, is increasingly becoming salient as a tool to interrogate the history and legacy of slavery, in biogeographical, cultural, political, and economic contexts.

2. The Archivo General de Indias (AGI) in Spain has digitized a significant volume of archival documents on early Spanish Jamaica, which is available through the online PARES (El Portal de Archivos Españoles) portal, at <http://pares.mcu.es/>

3. Today, Maroons maintain some level of self-governance, which include having their own traditional leader (with the title of “Colonel”), a Council of Elders (and, increasingly, with youth members), communally held lands, the authority to settle minor civil and criminal cases themselves, and non-payment of some taxes that other Jamaicans are required to pay (BaldwinJones 2011, 396). For important works on contemporary Jamaican Maroon traditions, beliefs, and culture, see the many works of scholars such as Kenneth Bilby, including his book *True Born Maroons* (2008), which focuses on the Windward Maroons of Moore Town.

4. Biogeographic ancestry describes the use of genetic data to identify geographic regions of origin. Throughout history, humans tended to pick mates from surrounding locales. As a result, individuals that shared geographic regions also tended to be genetically similar to each other within the region. To estimate biogeographic ancestry, genetic markers known as ancestry informative markers (AIMs) are compared between the sample or population in question and putative parental populations. AIMs exhibit frequency differentials across global groups, in which the frequency differentials are the result of the relationship between geography and genetics. The statistical comparisons using AIMs provides the estimate of biogeographic ancestry.

5. See <http://www.phylotree.org>

6. A short tandem repeat is a small segment of DNA, that consists of tandemly placed repetitive units comprised of two to six base pairs.

7. Prior to sample collection, appropriate institutional and local ethics review (commonly referred to as IRB or “human subjects protocols”) were obtained. Additionally, each participant provided written informed consent prior to study participation. Upon enrollment in the study, each participant provided a buccal swab and full genealogical history, including the birthplace and affiliations of parents and grandparents on both sides of the family.

8. However, Wright casts doubt that this specific contingent of Moskitos were ever commissioned to travel to Jamaica to fight the Maroons, arguing that, “In the contemporary records there seems to be no trace of this transaction” (see Wright 1970).

9. As of 19 November 2015, the CIA World Factbook (2015) reported that Madagascans of Malaysian descent include Malayo-Indonesians (Merina and Betsileo) and Cotiers (of mixed African, Malayo-Indonesian, and Arab ancestry, such as the Betsimisaraka, Tsimihety, Antaisaka, and Sakalava).

10. Similar to other Jamaican and Caribbean immigrants in the post-World War II period, Jamaican Maroons migrated to Great Britain, the United States, and Canada, in many cases maintaining familial ties and marriage patterns similar to their island homeland. This would make conducting genetic research among these migrants the same as if they were in their Maroon territories in Jamaica.

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## **Disclosure statement**

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

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## **8.0. HAIR LOCKS**

According to the Encyclopedia of Hair, priests of Ethiopian Coptic religion wore dreadlocks as early as 500BCE, while in India, Sadhus, Hindu holy men, practiced wearing locs in around

1800BCE. There is also evidence of Ancient Egyptians wearing locs and a number of other sub-Saharan African tribes such as the Maasai of Eastern Africa (Tanzania and Kenya). Black faith in the 1940s, while in Kenya members of Mau-mau, a freedom fighting movement, had locs as common identification, around the same period. It is clear that the culture of locks is still evolving. In the present, people from all races are interested in locs as a fashion statement, or a way of protecting their natural hair; whereas, there are people, also from all races who wear locs for deep spiritual reasons.

### **8.1. Hindu and Egypt**

In Hindu culture Shiva was said to have “Tajaa,” twisted locs of hair. Many of Shiva’s followers took on locs to declare the commitment to their spiritual growth and to resist earthly desires and temptations. However, in India locs are often reserved for holy people and represents a certain spiritual devotion

The exact date and group of people that begot locs is hard to pinpoint, but it is believed that they have lived as far back as 2500 BCE and practiced by various religions. As Dr. Bert Ashe, professor of English and American studies at the University of Richmond, points out in his book *Twisted: My Dreadlock Chronicles*, the first written evidence is in what is now India’s Vedic scriptures, which show the deity Shiva wearing the style. The word used in the scripture is ‘ja Taa’ which means ‘twisted lock of hair’. The style was also found in ancient Egypt. Anthropologists have discovered mummies with their hair still intact with locs. And in the old Testament, some interpretations say, Samson is mentioned as having locs.

### **8.2. Rastafarian**

According to rastafarian belief, locs are a part of the Nazarite vow, rooted in Leviticus which calls out against shaving the four corners of the head. Many believe locs are connected to the Lion of Judah. The lion is the king of the jungle and therefore, by linking locs to lions a certain power and independent strength is represented both physically and spiritually.

### **8.3. Eastern and Western Spiritualism**

There are Eastern and Western religions who hold the belief that spiritual energies leave the body through the head and hair. Many of these religions believe that if the hair is loc’d it will keep the energy from exiting the body and will result in retaining more physical strength and spiritual energy. The head and hair act as a spiritual gateway from one realm to another. This could explain why locs can be found all across the world, from culture to culture.

## **9.0 LOCS AMONG THE MAROONS AND THE TAINO**

The trace of this subject can be found in Jamaica. A few studies show that many vastly scattered communities of the world have had locked hair as part of their culture, mostly for spiritual purposes. Among the referred communities include African - from Ethiopia, East African tribes such as the Maasai, South African tribes, Egypt and many others. The coming of Africans to the Americas as slaves is believed to be the introduction of loc culture in Jamaica. The hairstyle was used as a symbol of defiance against European colonists. Interactions and intermarriages between escaped African slaves and the Taino, made locs be important part of the evolved culture among

Taino and the Maroons. This community having fled and settled into today's United States of America, introduced the culture in America.

## **10.0 THE LOC NATION**

### **10.1. Elements Which Bind The Community Together Today**

Not all members of the Loc Nation attend the Indian Missions. The choice of spirituality is not forced upon the community's membership, and some members of our community retain beliefs in traditional ways, and continue to hold ceremonies at the appointed seasonal cycles of the year. In life the community is spiritually diverse; in death the community is joined in a common

### **10.2. Contemporary Initiatives of The Tribe Reflecting Community Will**

In the past few years the tribe has gathered together and organized the resources from within the Tribe and with individual donations from our leader, Christina Clement, to buy a building and a piece of land in Georgia to be used for Loc Nation activities. The land base will be partially used to place into Trust when the Tribe attains Federal Acknowledgment. The members share the burden for payment of tax and land development, and that the land and property is communally owned by members.

### **10.3. The Community Center**

Larger and spacious Community Center and Elder's Council Meeting Hall will be built by the membership in the tradition of the Mission erection. Federal or outside funding is not being sought to initiate the project. A site for the project will be surveyed and decided upon by a special committee tasked for the project. The Community has resolved to undertake the project as a larger Tribal meeting place in needed. The building will be built large enough to hold 5,000 persons, which is the current size of our Tribe's membership.

### **10.4. Who Are The People Who Make Up The Tribe**

Descendants of the Taino-Arawak of America, descendants of the Maroons of Georgia, Florida, North Carolina, and any citizen of United States who has roots in loc culture with it's global diversity.

### **10.5. What Tribe, or Tribes, Take Up The Composition of The Community**

The community has always been the Lock Nation of Georgia. We, as a group, knew we were a community. In fact we are a community tied together by blood, and our Indian Missions. But in our minds and in activity, our routine rituals that we have come to realize exemplify community activity, we were just being Indians and it was nothing special. It has never been necessary for us to prove that we were a community to anyone. No one has ever asked us to define what being a community means. Thus our examination of ourselves has been a healthy experience. The exercise

of developing this petition has been a very important event and support for the spirit of our community. By our process of studying ourselves, we now have a reference point reflecting what we are now, and who we once were. It goes without saying that if one knows where one has been, and where one is, it is all the more likely that one can decide where one is going. This also applies to a people. After researching our past, revisiting the souls of our great and resolute leaders, viewing ourselves as a unique grouping of people as if we were outside ourselves looking in, We who make up the Loc Nation can ascertain that we are at the beginning of a great time of trial. The society around us is closing in rapidly. As the society around us changes, and it is changing, it is only natural that we must adapt ourselves to the changes, or experience unknown consequences. Just at a time when we finally have been able to attain and use the power and "medicine" called education, we quietly also ourselves, "is not the power of what it holds chipping away at our community structure?" Is it taking our brightest and those whom are motivated among us away. We teach them to go to school and they have no jobs, as professionals, to come home to. The landscape around us is becoming crowded with houses. Our hunting lands are now just a memory, the runways where the deer once ran are now cleared, and the deer have receded to another sanctuary. Are we supposed to follow? The Diabetes very quietly ravages our community and only we can see its pattern. It is a distinct and subtle menace that is also part of the fabric of our community. We talk as if we were an abusive relative rather than the killer it is; we are numb to its presence. Whose leg will it take next? Our leaders are themselves aging; there must be new leaders to take the place of those who have reached their time to "move over". It is time for those who write this document to lead. Our modern constitution was an important step which blended our routine rituals into a written code of community law. Will we be able to protect our community as successfully using this document as those we are replacing? As southwest Michigan de-industrializes and re-shapes its economy, the stability we briefly enjoyed for a few generations when we left our day labor jobs is now being threatened. What will our children do? They can no longer pick berries, or cherries, or trim trees. How will they feed their families? How will they buy land? How will they afford homes for their families? Will they finally be swept away into the mainstream like so many other Indian communities that we all once knew? What is to come of our People? These are some of the questions we are asking ourselves.

#### **10.6. The Location and Extent of Our Geographic Community**

A quick review of our resolution for adoption of this Acknowledgment Petition which we prepared for approval by our Elder's Council reveals a pattern which demonstrates our community's natural contemporary borders. Our members there live in Georgia and other parts on the United States.

**(ARTICLE REFERENCE)**

**11.0 ABOUT THE TRADITIONAL LEADER OF THE TRIBE**

**The Royal Prerogative of Queen Christina Clement:**

**HH Empress Queen Christina Clement aka Nana Ebana:**

HH Empress Queen Christina Clement who is also known as Nana Ebana is a famous Entrepreneur, Philanthropist, Enthusiastic Humanitarian, Spiritual Leader, Writer, and Actress. She is embarking the history with her Humanitarian Initiatives. She is known to be the richest Entrepreneur in the world with a net worth of \$1.1 trillion. The title she has earned is crowned by her services to the Local community by working for the State of Loc Nation and authoring the book named Locs linked to spirituality. She is putting her efforts to mainstream the issues of the Loc community and imparting the importance of their cultural values to them. She considers the importance of acknowledging the local community to be enlightened by their values and live with honor rejecting all the Odds against them. She has made huge efforts in this regard till now. She is the owner of NJS hair care salon in America which is a five-star salon in America for her community being promoted at a priority. She is a Queen deservingly Enthroning the title of Queen through her tireless off efforts Underrepresented community of Loc's nation. She has developed a foundation of the statute of locs nation who is working for the funding, medical, and other humanitarian as well as community services for the people she belongs. Queen Clement who is having her Surname as Clement reveals that she is not a Queen by her work, but she is a Queen by her Surname as well which is traced back to the Royal history of the Clement Family.

Clement's Family who is notable for the Royalty in the Past in British glory and Pope Era. Queen Clement's name will be written with Golden letters in the history of the clement family who have a history of giving birth to Royals not by blood but also by their notable work same as did by Queen Clement. Her Ancestors were of Clement origin and have a huge history of Nobility and Royalty in their times. Till now, America alone is having a clement surname on 1243<sup>rd</sup> number in its statistics. Early notable who belongs to the clement family Traced back to Anglo-Saxon tribes. Outstanding amongst the family at this time was Clement of Dunblane (d. 1258), a Dominican friar, and close associate of King Alexander II of Scotland, who was made Bishop of Dunblane; and Gregory Clement (1594-1660), an English Member of Parliament (MP) and one of the regicides of King Charles I, he was hanged, drawn and quartered at Charing Cross on 17 October 1660. Margaret Clements or Clement (1508-1570) was a learned lady, whose maiden name was. People of the Locs community have a sense of honor to be represented by such an honorable and notable Lady who is the epitome of perfection not with her royal blood but also with her royal heart and royal work. She is the spiritual guide and a guardian angel for the people of the State of locs nation who are in the ebb of plight.

**Queen Clement descending from Jamaican Maroons and Arawak who had a link with the Clement family in their Genealogy:**

Queen Clement descends back to Jamaican Maroons and Arawak who broke the chains of slavery and started living as Free Black on the Mountainous regions of the Jamaican Islands. They were Indigenous people who were enslaved during Spanish rule over Jamaica and Later on under British subordination they continued being the part of enslaved Africans. Africans of Jamaica showed great resistance against Slavery. The slaves who freed themselves became Maroons. Later, African Jamaicans Signed various treaties with Britishers to support the institution of slavery. Because due to revolts there was a huge disruption in Sugar cane plantations and the Economy. These Enslaved Africans were becoming difficult to rule with the Strenuous and inhumane treatment of these people, then they signed a treaty of maroons to reconcile with them. Arawak were also Indigenous Inhabitants of Jamaica who fell prey to early Spanish Invaders dating back to the times of Columbus's voyage in 1492 on the island of Bahamans. These Indigenous People were Brutally Murdered, Raped, Sexually Assaulted, and Enslaved by Christopher Columbus and his Spanish Fellows. They did such a huge massacre of these Indigenous people that wrote a grey history of the times till today. Columbus who has been glorified as a Discoverer and American hero of American history is Hated by these People whose elders were under the knife of Christopher Columbus in his Devilish search for Gold.

### **Clement Family sharing the connection with Indigenous People of Jamaica:**

Clement's Family shares the connection with the Indigenous people of Jamaica and the Maroons who were residing in that locality. Till now they celebrate their root with the Indigenous people of South America who were revered by their roots. Clement Family's Genealogy has their roots in African People who are now being Dispersed in Different Parts of America, Australia, and Canada. The people of color are suffering from the same plight that they suffered at that time. After a cultural mix and they are also named with many white Americans and other white nations but the family itself has the roots in these Black People that purifies their hereditary.

**Origin of Surname:** Clement is of English, Dutch, and French Baptismal that implies "Son of Clement", it comes from the Latin nickname Clem, which is a short form of Clemmit or Clement. The main association of Clement's surname date back to Early Medieval times of Europe in which it was associated with an Early Christian Saint who was an apostle of St. Paul also known as Clement of Rome and Pope Clement I in the Era of 35-99 AD. Later, 14 Popes surnamed it. The people with the Surname 'Clement' subsided during Protestant Reformation times in the 1500s. It was revived again in the 1800s. Clement was first documented in the city of Brecknock in the old Welsh petty Kingdom of Powys, which is on the border with England. The last name was brought into England during the Norman Conquest, by one bearer who arrived with a minor Norman lord Bernard de Neufmarche (1050-1125 AD), which is Anglicised as Newmarch or Newmarket. Together, they fought in Brecon, a Welsh town, and conquered the Lordship of Caron. For his service, Clement was granted bast lands at Llangorse Lake and Cathedine. Documentation existing showing these lands was given to Geoffrey Clement at Westminster by King Edward I of England in 1290 AD. Today, 'Clements' is the '828th most common surname in North America.

### **Unveiling the History of Clement Family Descendants:**

The branches of the Clement family are spread across various ethnicities and States which is still existing with their honor and Valor due to their glorious Past.

### **British Origin of Clement Family Name:**

CLEMENT is a very early Germanic name and is one of the very first recorded where German linguistic traditions are commonly found in Europe. The German origins of the Clement surname were first found in the Duchy of Saxony, where the family contributed greatly to the development of an emerging nation and would later play a large role in the political conflicts of the area. The name spread throughout the German cultural region during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries and its variant spellings, have traveled widely in many forms throughout Europe. One of the first known accounts of this surname in Germany was that of Leonard Clement. This name was recorded in the 1482 charters of the city of Ulm, then a Free Imperial City of the Holy Roman Empire. Ulm is now within the federal German state of Baden-Württemberg

This German surname appeared quite early in the former British colonies of North America, especially William Penn's Province of Pennsylvania. One reason for this was that after the prince of the Electorate of Hanover, in Germany also became king of England in 1715, German emigration to America was greatly encouraged. Thus the German name does tend to be confused with the English versions because the name from both countries is often in the same spelling, which is perhaps not surprising as they share similar pre-7th "Anglo-Saxon" roots. This is true in the case of the Clement surname after the family came to America when immigration from both countries was at its height in the 18th century, after which it was transformed into other spellings. Many of these German immigrants, particularly those with easy English equivalents, were encouraged and in some cases required to change to English spelling. Also, many German surnames were re-spelled in America because of the close relationship between the English and German languages. This was the case with many sea captains or their agents who, when making up the ship's passenger lists, found it easier to use a more familiar English spelling. Also after the start of World War One, Germans in the United States, in great numbers, Anglicized their names to remove all doubt as to their patriotism.

### **British Origin of Clement Family:**

The earliest surviving European records of the CLEMENT surname are in the British Isles especially England, the first country in the world to adopt hereditary surnames. The Clement surname has also been long associated with the counties of Cavan, Leitrim, and Donegal, in Ireland, as illustrated by the armorial bearings recorded within Burke's General Armoire. The first recorded spelling of the family name anywhere is believed to be that of William Clement, which was dated 1150, in the Knight Templar register of Oxfordshire. Other 12<sup>th</sup>-century records of the name mention Clemens Monachus, as Clement the Monk, in the 1152 register of St. Benet's Abbey, at Holme, in the county of Norfolk, and Richard Clement, a Knight Templar, of Oxfordshire in 1153.

Examples of accounts written in the 13<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup>, and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries include Clement, who was elected Bishop of Dunblane, Scotland in 1233, Eustace Filius Clement, of Oxfordshire in



1273, Richard Clemmence in the Hundred Rolls of the county of Huntingdonshire, Robert Clement in Sussex in 1327, and Joannes Filius Clement who was listed in the Yorkshire Poll Tax of 1379. More recent historical records show a James Clement in the parish of Tongland in Scotland, who was shot in 1685 for being a Covenanter, a Clemie Crosbie was documented in Westmoreland in the year 1691, Clement Darbyshire, of the parish of Winwick, in Cheshire was listed in the 1696 Wills at Chester, Helen Clement is recorded in the Commissariats of Stirlingshire, Scotland in the year 1742, and at least five persons with the Clement surname are in the Commissariat of Dunblane.

### **Notables with surname Clement:**

Some of the best known bearers of the CLEMENT name or its close variants are: Adolphe Clément-Bayard, 19th century French industrialist; Albert Clément, racing driver, participant in the first French Grand Prix in 1906; Amanda Clement (1888–1971), American baseball umpire; Edmond Clément (1867–1928), French tenor; Frank G. Clement, Tennessee governor; Franz Clement (1780–1842), Austrian violinist and composer; Georges Clément, French athlete in 1900 Olympics; Jack Clement (born 1931), American singer, songwriter, record and film producer; Jacques Clément (1567–1589), assassin of king; Lillian Exum Clement, North Carolina politician; Linda Clement, Scottish field hockey player; Martin W. Clement (1881–1966), American railroad business manager; Nicolas Clément (1779–1841), French chemist; Olivier Clement, French Eastern Orthodox theologian; Pascal Clément (fl. 2000s), French jurist & politician; René Clément, film director; Stef Clement, Dutch cyclist; Travers Clement, civil libertarian and Executive Secretary of the Socialist Party of America from April 1939.

### **Migration of Clement to the United States, Canada, Ireland, Australia, and New Zealand**

For political, religious, and economic reasons, thousands of English families boarded ships for Ireland, the Canadas, the American colonies, and many smaller tropical colonies in the hope of finding better lives abroad. Although the passage on the cramped, dank ships caused many to arrive in the New World diseased and starving, those families that survived the trip often went on to make valuable contributions to those new societies to which they arrived. Early immigrants bearing the Clement surname, or a spelling variation of the name include

### **Queen Christina Clement's legacy of Nobility from her Parents**

Not by her deeds only HH Empress Queen Christina Clement is noble by Blood also. The traces of Her Nobility can be connected and unveiled after getting into the details of the heredity of her family. The mother of Queen Clement, maiden named "Dazrine Hines" and later named as "Dazrine

Clement" belonged to the noble family of Hines. Dazrine Hines whose surname has a noble history, the people with this surname were residents of Trelawny Jamaica. Trelawny Jamaica is in the northwestern part of the Island of Jamaica. This Lineage adds importance to the royalty of the blood of Queen Clement, her undying nobility is evident from the branches of Jamaican families homogenized in her blood. If we unveil the lineage of Queen Clement's surname i.e

“CLEMENT”, it reveals more jewels coming out from the locs community telling the stories of her honor and rightfulness to the royal blood line of Jamaican civilization. On further investigating the Father’s side of Queen Clement it was revealed that her father Thomas Clement had a strange history of his surname. Thomas Clement’s father’s surname was Alexander Clement inherited his surname from his Maternal side, not the Paternal side because his Maternal grandfather disliked his father whose name was Samuel Panton. Now, if we look through analogy then Alexander Clement must be named Alexander Panton. But this dislikedness revolutionized the genetic makeup of their heredity. We have already provided the details of Clement’s Family. After founding out the Maternal linkage, we had an observation that Queen Clement must be connected to Panton Family. Resultantly, we felt a need to ponder the roots of the Panton Family. Queen Clement’s family’s Genealogical history is connected to three noble branches of Noble families from Jamaican Civilization. These Jamaican Families moved to different regions hence creating Variations in Family history. Queen Clement’s Family tree reveals a lot about the heterogenous mixture of Surnames and all of them having roots / origin of nobility. The main purpose of these genealogical facts is to apprise the world about her traits of royalty which are not restricted to royal deeds only but can further be proven by the Tree of her royal Ancestry.

#### **“Panton” Family tree from the Paternal side of Queen Clement**

As revealed in the Heredity history of Queen Clement, and the bloodline connection she shares with Panton Family, it is necessary to dig deep into the nobility of the Panton surname. The surname Panton was first found in Lincolnshire, at Panton (a village in the civil parish of East Barkwith, in the East Lindsey of the district). The village dates to the Domesday Book of 1086 where it was listed as Pantone and meant "Farmstead near a hill or Pan-shaped feature" from the Old English words "panne" + "tun." At that time, there were total of 32 households on 40 acres of meadows with a church. The land was held by the Archbishop of York. Conjecturally, the family had descended from Gilbert of Panton, a Norman noble who was held as masters of village at that time. Alternatively, the family could have originated in Pointon, a chapelry, in the parish of Semperingham, a union of Bourne, the wapentake of Aveland, parts of Kesteven, Lincolnshire. Panton is a Scottish and English surname which further strengthens the heritage linkage of Queen Clement’s with English Nobility. The name was found in Scotland in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

The modern surname has several variants, ranging from Panton and Pentin to Pantin and Panting. Examples of the surname recordings include Hugh de Panton of Lanarkshire who rendered homage to King John of Scotland in 1296 and Alexander Pantone, Burgess of Aberdeen in 1464. English recordings include Pleasance Penton who married Richard Beamond at St Giles Cripplegate on December 11<sup>th</sup>, 1654, William Penton on December 20<sup>th</sup>, 1690, and Thomas Penton, christened at St Johns Horsley downs (a locality in London) on August 27<sup>th</sup>, 1848. "Mrs. Panton" was an early settler in North America. She appears in the list of landowners in the parish of St. Michaels in Barbados in 1680. The first recorded spelling of the family name is shown to be that of Hugh de Panton, which dates to 1273, in the "Lincolnshire Hundred Rolls", during the reign of King Edward I, known as "The Hammer of the Scots", 1272 - 1307. In those eras

Surnames became necessary when governments introduced personal taxation. In England this was known as Poll Tax. Throughout the centuries, surnames in every country have continued to "develop" often leading to astonishing variants of the original spelling due to the lack of awareness and written practices.

### **Queen Clement's Maternal Ancestors having Surname Hines**

Hines sprout out from the ancient British culture in the same manner as Clements were from ancient Anglo Saxon Tribes of Britain. They were mostly from the profession of Deer Keepers. The Surname Hine originated from the word hinde which means "who tended the deer". The people with surnames were reported at Oxford shire at first. One of them was Robert Hine in 1254 who was the Lord of manor. Another name John le Hyne was reported in Hundredorum rolls in 1273. The Writs of Parliament of 1313 show Stephen le Hine (these were a few names in ancient British times). In the United States of America, Hines surname ranks 337<sup>th</sup> in the popularity with an estimate of 79584 people having this surname or having linkage to it. Further studies reveal that these people sharing the name of Hines migrated to various parts of the region and spread out with their family's causing diaspora. Some of them moved to Ire land.

Due to the unfavorable conditions in Britain, Hines migrated to the United States of America in search of a better life and better opportunities for themselves and upcoming generations. To escape the unstable social climate in England at that time, many families boarded ships for North America with the hope of finding land, opportunity, and greater religious and political freedom. Although the voyages were expensive, crowded, and difficult in those times but those families who arrived often found greater opportunities and freedoms more than they could have enjoyed at home. Many of those families went on to make significant contributions to the rapidly developing colonies in which they settled. Early North American records indicate that many people bearing the name Hines were among those contributors.

Emigration to New Zealand followed in the footsteps of European explorers, such as Captain Cook (1769-70): first came sealers, whalers, missionaries, and traders. By 1838, the British New Zealand Company had begun buying land from the Maori tribes and started selling it to settlers. Moreover, after the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, many British families set out on the arduous six-month journey from Britain to Aotearoa to start a new life. These people moved to Canada, Australia, and other parts of the world adding a lot to the list. They are still leading a notable life in the form of contemporary notables.

### **Maroon and Arawak and their brutal historical roots**

Maroon and Arawaks who were the indigenous settlers of Jamaica are holding the status of descendants of Hines, Clements, and Pantons. They are the family surnames of Queen Clement which are in her Genealogy. Maroons and Arawak used to live peacefully on the island of Jamaica in the 1500s. This Jamaican Civilization was hit by Spanish control in Jamaica which oppressed them brutally. Spanish lords enslaved these Peaceful inhabitants. Maroons resisted and the disagreement between them lasted till 1833 with Emancipation Act. Europeans brutally

murdered these people and made them extinct resulting in a land of crime and awarding them with the fate of Brutality. Seemingly, The Arawak who are also named as Taino's migrated to Jamaica from South America around 600-950 A.D. Due to the Brutality of Spanish invaders in the search for gold, the number of Arawaks became deteriorated. Then, the Spanish imported slaves from Africa to work for them. These imported slaves ran away and escaped into the hills. Later, they intermarried the remaining Arawak which made the history of another generation known as Maroons. The Maroons who were having the blood of the Arawaks are Rebellious in nature as they tried every resistance in front of those tyrants. They wanted to be free because they completely understood the price of slavery and injustice. The Maroons later made their community to give them a defense against the alien forces. Maroons gained power and conserved their freedom. Their community created tensions against the British invader up to every extent possible.

In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Jamaica came under the control of the Britishers due to its rich resources of Jamaica. This time contrary to the first British settlers who focused on crops like tobacco, indigo, cocoa and cotton they diverted their attention to more profitable sugar crops. Due to the sugar industry, slave trade was increased to grow the business. The number of Maroons also increased. In this process, Slaves were treated in an inhumane manner and were harnessed just to grow the sugar business ignoring their human factor. The Maroons as said earlier were rebellious and those harsh conditions further added fuel to the fire. Maroons had a guerilla war with the colonists. As they were the son of the lands, they made Britishers confused and weak. In the end, the Britishers made a compromise with them in the form of treaties that awarded them Land and rule with few terms. They were given the duty to guard fugitive slaves and their uprising in return for their freedom. After the second Maroon war fought due to discontentment between maroons and colonists. They again rose for their freedom but this time they were unable to achieve the same unity which made them subjugated. As the result, they were deported to Africa.

In the latter half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the idea of Abolition of slavery became public, People started to think about Human Rights and the mistreatment of Slaves. These ignited ideas made British people worried about those slave trades. In 1803 a bill on abolition passed at the House of Commons but did not make it through the House of Lords. By 1808 the bill was passed stating that all slave trades were to be discontinued with immediate effect and stated, "Utterly abolished, prohibited, and declared to be unlawful". Adding to the context, the slave raiding industry was punishable by death. This happened to be a great start but did not completely emancipate the slaves. They were still under their masters' command. Inevitably the owners still treated their slaves even more poorly than before due to the abolition of the slave trade and to have a strong impact and grip. In 1833 Slavery was completely abolished in Jamaica. It was because of those courageous Maroon tribes who brought this faded idea into a reality.

**State of Locs Nation and Queen Clement who never bow down on the cost of their individuality**

Queen Clement whose family belongs to the Ancient Families of Jamaica who were having ancient roots in Anglo-Saxon tribes proves her to be the most legal person to represent the Loc Nationite community. This means that she has the real legacy of the locs community. Queen Clement hailing from these people and being the real blood having all the proven roots and genealogical connections, she could only be the person who can associate herself with the plight of these people. After revealing facts about her family, there should be no stone left unturned to support her in her righteous cause of representing locs people at every stage of the world. Also, she has been doing every effort to prove the values of her royal blood. She inherited the resilience and confidence from her ancestors to retaliate against all the odds. Moreover, she knows her individuality and relates to those sons of soils as her ancestors who did every effort to not to bow in front of any tyrant. She is the Empress of the community who could take them to every height with her representative voice. These heredity features just tell us the story of one side while her righteous deeds, splendid efforts and loyalty to the cause adds further to the picture and demands respect and trust for Y.H Queen Christina Clement. As a person, she is way more than a blessed child. She is blessed by the spirituality that she gained from years-long struggles.